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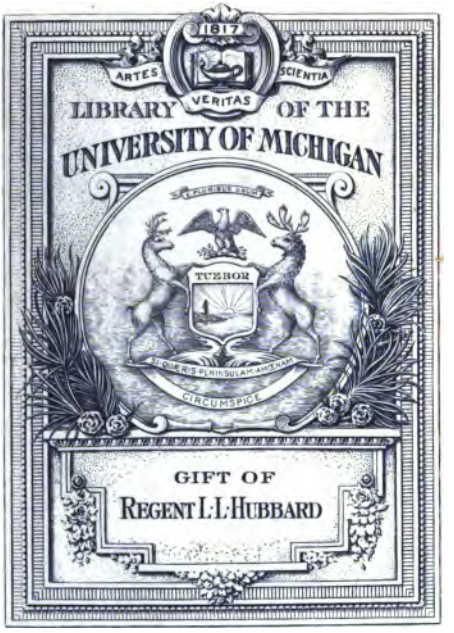
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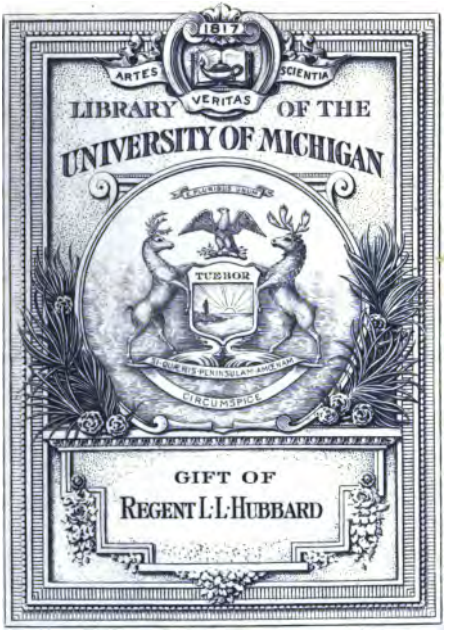
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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr JONATHAN SWIFT.

Dean of ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOL. III.

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A

PROPOSAL

FOR THE

Univerſal Uſe of IRISH MANUFACTURE, in *cloaths* and *furniture of houſes*, &c.

Utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing *wearable* that comes from ENGLAND.*

[Written in the year 1720.]

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greateſt diſcouragements from England, thoſe are what they are ſure to be moſt induſtrious in cultivating and ſpreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been the principal care of all wiſe nations,

* Upon Dr Swift's arrival in Ireland, that ſpirit which had been raiſed againſt him by the Whigs in England, infatuated likewiſe the whole populace of Dublin, inſomuch that when he walked thro' the town, he was frequently pointed at and abuſed by ſeveral of the meaner ſhopkeepers, mechanics, and other baſe fellows without name or occupation. Theſe abominable wretches, like their brethren the yahoos, would often ſcrape the kennels with their naſty claws, to throw dirt and filth at him as he paſſed thro' the city; all which he bore for two or three years, until the brutes became tired of their ſcurrility, not ſo much with a reſigned philoſophical patience, as indeed with that ſuperior contempt for all unworthy demeanor, which is only to be conceived by the moſt improved and exalted minds. But theſe animoſities having ſubſided for two or three years, inſtead of rejoicing over the

for the encouragement whereof there are ſo many ſtatute-laws in England, we countenance ſo well, that the landlords are every where by *penal clauſes* abſolutely prohibiting

the miſeries of that people which had without cauſe born a tyrannous hate againſt him, he began to look down with pity on their diſtreſſed condition: he regreted the calamities of his country, and the abſurdity of their politics; he deplored their want of commerce, and lamented all their grievances. At laſt in 1720 he reſolved, as far as lay in his power, to correct the errors and the blunders of his deluded countrymen; and with that view he writ ſhort and lively *propoſals for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufacture*, &c; on account of which a proſecution was ſet on foot againſt Waters the printer of that pamphlet, which was carried on with ſo much violence, that one William Whitſhed, then Chief Juſtice, thought proper, in a manner the moſt extraordinary, to keep the jury eleven hours, and to ſend them back nine times out of court, unſil he had wearied them into a ſpecial verdict. But Whitſhed, a man of low birth and narrow education, whoſe whole pittance of learning was confined within the magic circle of the laws, the doctrine of precedents, and practice of the courts, was by no means aware by what unmerciful ſtrokes a patriot and genius like Dr Swift could avenge upon him the cauſe both of himſelf and country. Whitſhed, armed with power, and ſure to be ſupported, in the virulent days of party, againſt all thoſe which adhered to their Tory principles, firſt gave the alarm to battle by an attack upon Waters the printer. Swift, armed with genius, and fired with a zeal for liberty and public intereſt, flew directly to the charge. But finding he had to deal with an adverſary unequal to the combat, he contented himſelf for the preſent with giving him three or four laſhes, and making him thoroughly contemptible in the eyes of the world. But ſoon after Swift had further occaſion for exerting all his powers againſt the unfortunate Whitſhed. *Swift.*

This treatiſe ſpread very faſt, upon which a perſon in great office ſent in haſte for the Chief Juſtice (Whitſhed), and informed him of a ſeditious, factious and virulent pamphlet lately publiſhed, with a deſign of ſetting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the ſame time, that the printer ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour.—The *Chief Juſtice* had ſo quick an underſtanding, that he reſolved if poſſible to out-do his orders.——The printer was ſeized, and forced to give great bail:—the jury brought him in not guilty, altho' they had been culled with the utmoſt induſtry: the *Chief Juſtice* ſent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until being tired out they were *forced* to leave the matter to the mercy of the *judge* by what they call a *ſpecial verdict*. During the trial the *Chief Juſtice* among other ſingularities laid his hand on his breaſt, and proteſted ſolemnly, that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cauſe being ſo very odious

ing their tenants from ploughing*, not ſatisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the Engliſh: one effect of which is already ſeen in the prodigious dearneſs of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And becauſe people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vaſt tracts of the beſt land, for the feeding of ſheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *hiſtory of the wiſe men of* Gotham, with a catalogue only of ſome *wonderful* laws and cuſtoms we have obſerved within thirty years paſt. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France hath been our only ſupport for ſeveral years paſt, furniſhing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market. But our merchants aſſure me, "this trade hath received a great damp by the preſent fluctuating condition of the coin in France: that

odious and impopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon (the D. of G—ft-n) the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace, after mature advice and permiſſion from England, was pleaſed to grant a *noli proſequi*. See Swift's letter to Pope, of Jan. 10. 1721, vol. 8. *Hawkeſ.*

This piece firſt turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour.

When the author had finiſhed Gulliver's travels, he found an opening to indulge his love of politics, and to commence a patriot for Ireland: and he made uſe of the opportunity, by increaſing the natural jealouſy which the leſſer iſland conſtantly entertains of the greater. His treatiſe, or propoſal, immediately raiſed a very violent flame. The printer was proſecuted: and the proſecution had the ſame effect, which generally attends thoſe kind of meaſures; it added fewel to the flame. But his greateſt enemies muſt confeſs, that the pamphlet is written in the ſtyle of a man who had the good of his country neareſt his heart; who ſaw her errors, and wiſhed to correct them; who felt her oppreſſions, and wiſhed to relieve them; and who had a deſire to rouſe and awaken an indolent nation from a lethargic diſpoſition, that might prove fatal to her conſtitution. *Orrery.*——See *An excellent new ſong on a ſeditious pamphlet*, vol. 6.

* It was the practice of Iriſh farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow; and when their

" moſt of their wine is paid for in ſpecie, without carry-
" ing thither any commodity from hence."

HOWEVER, ſince we are ſo univerſally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we ſhall do with our wool, in caſe Barnſtable * ſhould be overſtocked, and our French commerce ſhould fail?

I could wiſh the parliament had thought fit to have ſuſpended their regulation of *church* matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, becauſe they did not appear very preſſing, at leaſt to the perſons *principally concerned*; and, inſtead of theſe great refinements in *politics* and *divinity*, had *amuſed* themſelves and their committees a little with the *ſtate of the nation*. For example: what if the Houſe of Commons had thought fit to make a reſolution, *nemine contradicente*, againſt wearing any cloth or ſtuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it ſo far as utterly to exclude all ſilks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwiſe, ſhould be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation?* What if they had ſent up ſuch a reſolution to be agreed to by the Houſe of Lords: and by their own practice and encouragement ſpread the execution of it in their ſeveral counties? What if we ſhould agree to make *burying in woollen a faſhion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law?* What if the ladies would be content with Iriſh ſtuffs for the furniture of their houſes, for gowns and petticoats for themſelves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the reſt, let a firm reſolution be taken by *male* and *female* never to appear with one ſingle *ſhred*, that comes from England; *and let all the people ſay*, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could pleaſe his Majeſty better than to hear, that his loyal ſubjects of both ſexes in

their leaſes were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made ſuch havock, that the landlords by their zeal to prevent it were betrayed into this pernicious meaſure. *Hawkeſ.*

* A ſea port in Devonſhire, at that time the principal market in England for Iriſh wool. *Hawkeſ.*

in this kingdom * celebrated his *birth-day* (now approaching) *univerſally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to ſave them from the brink of ruin? If the mens opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handſome in ſtuffs as in brocades; and, ſince all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chuſing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late Archbiſhop of Tuam mention a pleaſant obſervation of ſome body's; "that Ireland would never be happy un-"til a law were made for burning every thing that came "from England, except their people and their coals." I muſt confeſs, that as to the former, I ſhould not be ſorry if they would ſtay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we ſhall have no occaſion for them.

Non tanti mitra eſt, non tanti judicis oſtrum;

but I ſhould rejoice to ſee a *ſtay-lace* from England, be thought *ſcandalous*, and become a topic for *cenſure* at *viſits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking ſhop-keepers in this town had not been utterly deſtitute of common ſenſe, they would have made ſome *propoſal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpoſe I have mentioned; promiſing to improve the "cloths and ſtuffs of the nation into all poſſible de-"grees of fineneſs and colours, and engaging not to "play the knave, according to their cuſtom, by exact-"ing and impoſing upon the nobility and gentry, either "as to the prices or the goodneſs." For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the *raſcally mercers* and *woollen drapers* would in four and twenty hours raiſe their *cloths* and *ſilks* to above a double price; and, if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, *that they were ready to ſtarve, and their fineries lay upon their hands.*

I could wiſh our ſhop-keepers would immediately think on this *propoſal*, addreſſing it to all perſons of qua-

* Her Grace the Ducheſs of Dorſet, the Lord Lieutenant's Lady, is ſaid to have appeared at the *caſtle* in Dublin wholly clad in the manufacture of Ireland on his Majeſty's birth-day, 1753. *Hawkeſ.*

lity and others; but firſt be ſure to get ſome body who can write ſenſe to put it into form.

I think it needleſs to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; becauſe "in a little time thoſe among "them, who are ſo unfortunate to have had their birth "and education in this country, will think themſelves a-"bundantly happy, when they can afford *Iriſh* crape "and an *Athlone* hat;" and as to the others, *I ſhall not preſume* to direct them. I have indeed ſeen the preſent Archbiſhop of Dublin * clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the roſe be it ſpoken, "his Grace deſerveth as good a gown, as if he had not "been born among us."

I have not courage enough to offer one ſyllable on this ſubject to *their honours* of the army: neither have I ſufficiently conſidered the great importance of *ſcarlet and gold lace.*

THE fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpoſe. The goddeſs had heard of one Arachne a young virgin very famous for *ſpinning* and *weaving*: they both met upon a trial of ſkill; and Pallas finding herſelf almoſt equalled in her own art, ſtung with rage and envy, knocked her *rival* down, and turned her into a ſpider; enjoining her to *ſpin and weave* for ever *out of her own bowels*, and *in a very narrow compaſs.* I confeſs, that from a boy I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddeſs, on account of *ſo cruel and unjuſt a ſentence:* which however is *fully executed* upon *us* by England, with further additions of *rigour* and *ſeverity*; for the greateſt part of our *bowels* and *vitals* is extracted, without allowing us † the liberty of *ſpinning* and *weaving* them.

THE Scripture tells us, that *oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad*: therefore, conſequently ſpeaking, the reaſon why ſome men are not *mad*, is becauſe they are not *wiſe*: however,

* Dr King.

† In the Spring 1753 the parliament of England paſſed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any port in Ireland to any port in England; which was before prohibited. And

In the Winter 1753, the Iriſh parliament prohibited the importation of gold and ſilver lace, except *of the manufacture of* England. *Hawkeſ.*

however, it were to be wiſhed, that *oppreſſion* would in time teach a little *wiſdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a perſon, who hath a great eſtate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, "how "grievouſly *poor England* ſuffers by impoſitions from Ire- "land: that we convey our own wool to France in ſpite "of all the *harpies* at the cuſtom-houſe: that Mr. Shut- "tleworth, and others on the Cheſhire coaſts, are ſuch "fools to ſell us their *bark* at a good price for tanning "*our own hides* into leather: with other enormities of "the like weight and kind." To which I will venture to add more: "that the *mayoralty* of this city is always "executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which "might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate "ſalary, whereby *poor England* loſeth at leaſt one thou- "ſand pounds a year upon the balance: that the *govern-* "*ing* of this kingdom coſts the Lord Lieutenant three "thouſand ſix hundred pounds a year; ſo much net loſs "to *poor England*: that the people of Ireland preſume "to dig for coals *in their own grounds*; and the *farmers* "in the county of Wicklow ſend their turf to the very "market of Dublin, to the great diſcouragement of the "coal-trade of Moſtyn * and Whitehaven: that the re- "venues of the *poſt-office* here, ſo righteouſly belonging "to the Engliſh treaſury, as ariſing chiefly from our own "commerce with each other, ſhould be remitted to Lon- "don clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange; "and the penſions paid out of the Iriſh revenues to *En-* "*gliſh favourites* ſhould lie under the ſame diſadvantage, "to the great loſs of the grantees. When a divine is "ſent over to a *biſhopric* here with the hopes of five and "twenty hundred pounds a year; and upon his arrival "he finds, alas! a dreadful diſcount of ten or twelve "*per cent*: a *judge*, or a *commiſſioner* of the revenue has "the ſame cauſe of complaint. *Laſtly*, The ballad up- "on Cotter is vehemently ſuſpected to be Iriſh manufa- "cture; and yet is allowed to be ſung in our open ſtreets, "under the very *noſe of the government*."

THESE are a *few*, among the many hardſhips we put upon that poor kingdom of England; for which, I am confident, every *honeſt* man wiſheth a *remedy*: and I hear, there

* Moſtyn in Flintſhire, and Whitehaven in Cumberland.

there is a project *on foot* for tranſporting our beſt wheaten *ſtraw* by ſea and land carriage to Dunſtable; and *obliging us by a law* to take off yearly ſo many *tun of ſtraw hats* for the uſe of our women; which will be a *great encouragement* to the manufacture of that induſtrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law *to bind men without their own conſent* be obligatory *in foro conſcientiæ*; becauſe I find Scripture, Sanderſon, and Suarez are wholly ſilent on the matter. The oracle of *reaſon*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion of *civilians*, wherever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed decifive enough.

IT is wonderful to obſerve the biaſs among our people in favour of *things*, *perſons*, and *wares* of all kinds, that come from England. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, *that he has got an excellent new ſong juſt brought from* London. I have ſomewhat of a tendency that way myſelf; and upon hearing a *cox-comb* from thence diſplaying himſelf with great volubility upon the *park*, *the play-houſe*, *the opera*, *the gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accompliſhments. It is not many years ſince I remember a *perſon*, who by his ſtyle and literature ſeems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-preſs in ſome *blind-alley* about Little-Britain, proceed *gradually* to be an *author*, at leaſt a * *tranſlator* of a lower rate, altho' ſomewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now *flouriſhes* in Grub-ſtreet; and upon the ſtrength of this foundation, come over *here*, *erect* himſelf up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very motive*, that prevailed on the † *author* of a play called *love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *honour* of a viſit; preſuming, with very good reaſon, *that he was a writer of a ſuperior claſs*. I know *another*, who for thirty years paſt hath been the *common ſtandard of ſtupidity in* England, where he was never heard a minute in any *aſſembly*, or by any *party*, with *common chriſtian treatment*; yet upon his arrival hither could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than ſix, without either *gracefulneſs*, *propriety*, or

* Suppoſed to be Cæſar's *Commentaries*, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, by Col. Bladen.

† Lord Grimſton.

or *meaning*; and at the ſame time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence* and *wiſdom*.

NOTHING hath humbled me ſo much, or ſhewn a greater diſpoſition to a *contemptuous* treatment of Ireland in ſome chief *governors*, than that high ſtyle of ſeveral ſpeeches from the *throne*, delivered as uſual after the *royal aſſent*, in *ſome periods* of the two laſt *reigns*. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condeſcenſions* in the prince to paſs *thoſe good laws*, would have but an odd ſound at Weſtminſter: neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can paſs, wherein the *king*'s intereſt is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a ſpeech on the like occaſion delivered by my Lord * Wharton (I think it was his laſt) he deſired Mr Addiſon "to aſk "my opinion on it:" my anſwer was, "that his Excel-"cellency had very honeſtly forfeited his head on account "of one paragraph; wherein he aſſerted, by plain con-"ſequence, a diſpenſing power in the Queen." His Lordſhip owned *it was true*, but *ſwore* the words *were put into his mouth* by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that ſome *miniſters* in thoſe times were apt, from their *high* elevation, to look *down* upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their *colonies of outcaſts in* America. And I obſerved a little of the ſame turn of ſpirit in *ſome great men*, from whom I expected better; altho', to do them juſtice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them *correct their idea*, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit.——But that is *forgotten*. How the ſtyle hath ſince run, I am wholly a ſtranger; having never ſeen a ſpeech ſince the laſt of the Queen.

I would now expoſtulate a little with our country landlords; who, by unmeaſurable *ſcrewing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miſerable *people* to a worſe *condition* than the *peaſants* in France, or the *vaſſals* in Germany and Poland; ſo that the whole *ſpecies* of what we call *ſubſtantial farmers*, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleaſant to obſerve theſe gentlemen, *labouring* with all their might for preventing the *biſhops* from letting their revenues

* Lord Lieutenant.

revenues at a moderate half value (whereby * the whole *order* would in an age have been reduced to manifeſt beggary) at the very inſtant, when they were every where *canting* † their own land upon ſhort leaſes, and ſacrificing their *oldeſt tenants for a penny an acre advance.* I know not how it comes to paſs (and yet perhaps I know well enough) that *ſlaves* have a natural diſpoſition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *betters* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with fix upon my *footman*; altho' perhaps he may be an honeſt and diligent fellow. I have heard *great* divines affirm, that " nothing is ſo likely to " call down an univerſal judgment from heaven upon a " nation, as univerſal oppreſſion;" and whether this be not already verified in part, *their worſhips* the landlords are *now* at full leiſure to conſider. Whoever travels this country, and obſerves the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himſelf in a land, where *law, religion, or common humanity* is profeſſed.

I cannot forbear ſaying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town ‡. I never ſaw the *propoſals*, nor underſtand any one particular of their ſcheme: what I wiſh for at preſent is only a ſufficient proviſion of *hemp*, and *caps*, and *bells*, to diſtribute according to the ſeveral degrees of *honeſty* and *prudence* in *ſome perſons*. I *hear* only of a monſtrous ſum already named; and, if OTHERS do not ſoon hear of it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of leſs ſagacity than myſelf, and a very few beſides take me to be. And the jeſt will be ſtill the better, if it be true, as judicious perſons have aſſured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewiſe much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldſmiths to melt down our heavy ſilver.

A

* Whereby, that is, by *preventing* the biſhops revenues from being let at half value. See this poſition explained and proved in the tract called *arguments againſt enlarging the power of biſhops*, in this volume. *Hawkeſ.*

† *Canting* their land is letting it to the higheſt bidder.—Cant ſignifies the ſame as auction. *Hawkeſ.*

‡ This project for a *bank* in Ireland was ſoon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected. *Hawkeſ.*

A LETTER to the *Shopkeepers, Tradeſmen, Farmers,* and *Common People* of IRELAND, concerning the BRASS HALF-PENCE coined by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-ware-man, with a deſign to have them paſs in this kingdom.

Wherein is ſhewn the power of his *patent,* the value of his *half-pence,* and how far every perſon may be obliged to take the ſame in payments, and how to behave himſelf, in caſe ſuch an attempt ſhould be made by WOOD, or any other perſon.

(Very proper to be kept in every family.)

By M. B. DRAPIER.*

Written in the year 1724.

* Dr Swift having retired from the political world, and amuſed himſelf for three or four years with poetry, converſation, and trifles, (which is perhaps the fineſt teſt of a thorough conſummate genius, that is above all particular ſyſtems and hypocritical pretences to philoſophy), being alarmed in 1724 with freſh matter of indignation to reſume his pen, boldly withſtood the whole force of an infamous projector; encouraged and ſupported in his villany by thoſe who were underſtood to be the chief directors in all public affairs. The project of this impudent fellow was, by virtue of a patent which he had fraudulently obtained by the intereſt of the then favourite Chryſeis, to coin half-pence for Ireland at about eleven parts in twelve under the real value, and force their currency in that kingdom; which, notwithſtanding his patent, ſuppoſing that he had made his half-pence ever ſo good, no man living was obliged, or, by virtue of the prerogative of the crown, could be obliged to receive in any payment whatever; nothing being in truth the current coin of England or Ireland, beſide gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard; the baſer metals being only accepted for the conveniency of change, which every man that pleaſes may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any penalty from the law. This whole matter the Doctor laid open in a ſhort treatiſe, the Drapier's firſt letter. *Swift.*

[About

[About the year 1722, when Charles Duke of Grafton was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood, an hard-ware-man and bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000 l. to paſs there as current money. The Dean believing this meaſure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be ſharers in the profits which would ariſe from the ruin of a kingdom, aſſumed the character of a *Draper*, which for ſome reaſon he choſe to write *Drapier*, and in the following letters warned the people not to receive the coin which was then ſent over.]

The judicious reader cannot but obſerve, that in this letter the author hath adapted his ſtyle, his phraſes, his humour and his addreſs in a very wonderful manner to the taſte and apprehenſion of the populace. Neither indeed is the title-page wholly void of that captivating rhetoric which is admired by the common people; for it concludes like that of the whole duty of man, *very proper to be kept in every family.*

LETTER I.

To the Tradeſmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and Country-people in general of the kingdom of Ireland.

Brethren, Friends, Country-men, and *Fellow-ſubjects,*

WHAT I intend now to ſay to you, is, next to your duty to God and the care of your ſalvation, of the greateſt concern to yourſelves and your children; your *bread* and *clothing*, and every common neceſſary of life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do moſt earneſtly exhort you as *men*, as *chriſtians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmoſt attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the leſs expence, I have ordered the *printer* to ſell it at the loweſt rate.

IT is a great fault among you, that, when a perſon writes with no other intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.* One copy of this paper may ſerve a dozen of you, which will be leſs

than

than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general intereſt in your view, not even the wiſeſt among you; neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

ABOUT four years ago a little book was written to adviſe all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear* **country*. It had no other deſign, ſaid nothing againſt the *King or parliament*, or any perſon whatſoever; yet the poor *printer* was proſecuted two years with the utmoſt violence, and even ſome *weavers* themſelves (for whoſe ſake it was written) being upon the JURY, *found him guilty*. This would be enough to diſcourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and

* A propoſal for the uſe of Iriſh manufactures.

The firſt five of the Drapier's letters were publiſhed in pamphlets at different times. The ſixth and ſeventh were firſt publiſhed in 1735, in the 4th volume of the Dublin edition of Dr Swift's works.

The ſixth and ſeventh of the Drapier's letters were procured from a friend of the author's in the original manuſcript, as we are aſſured, and have good reaſon to believe: thoſe who are better judges, will ſoon determine whether they are genuine or not. It is the opinion of ſeveral wiſe men, that the Drapier's letters, and the other writings relating to our poor country [Ireland] may be very uſeful to poſterity, by warning them for the future to oppoſe the ſame, or the like evil deſigns, however plauſible they may at firſt appear to unthinking people; or however artfully they may be repreſented (like this deſtructive project of William Wood) by thoſe who were to divide the ſpoil with that impoſtor; or, laſtly, by proſtitute flatterers, who are ſure to find their private account in the ruin of the kingdom; which ruin would have certainly followed, if the author, whoever he was, had not publiſhed his letters in the moſt proper juncture, and fitted to all ſorts of readers; whereby in two or three months he turned the whole nation, almoſt to a man, againſt that iniquitous ſcheme.—The letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton is written with much caution, becauſe the author confeſſes himſelf to be Dean of St Patrick's; and I could diſcover his name ſubſcribed at the end of the original, altho' blotted out by ſome other hand. I can give no other reaſon why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had ſucceeded, and at the ſame time how highly the people in power ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, thought it more prudent to keep the paper

when he must expect only *danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

HOWEVER, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain story of the fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country*.

THE *fact* is this: it having been many years since COPPER HALF-PENCE OR FARTHINGS were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many *counterfeits* passed about under the name of *raps*; several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr WOOD, *a mean ordinary man, a hard-ware-dealer*, procured a *patent* under his *Majesty's broad seal* to coin 108,000 *l.* in *copper* for this *kingdom*; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the *half-pence* and *farthings* in England pass for very little more than they are worth: and, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *brazier*, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr Wood made his *half-pence* of such *base metal*, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a *penny* of good money for a *shilling* of his; so that this sum of 108,000 *l.*

paper in his cabinet.—There is but a small part of the address to both houses of parliament that relateth to Wood and his coin. The rest contains several proposals for the improvement of Ireland, the many discouragements it lies under, and what are the best remedies against them.—By many passages in the other letters, but particularly in the *address*, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland, by absentees, importation of foreign goods, balance of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains, and been well informed in the business of computing; all his reasonings upon that subject, altho' he does not descend to particular sums, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others, who have since made that inquiry their particular study. And it is observable, that in the *address*, as well as in one of the other letters, he hath specified several important articles, that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him. *Dub. edit.*

108,000 *l.* in good gold and ſilver muſt be given for *traſh*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thouſand pounds* real value. But this is not the worſt; for Mr Wood, when he pleaſes, may by ſtealth ſend over another 108,000 *l.* and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *hatter* ſells a dozen of *hats* for *five ſhillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of *five ſhillings*.

PERHAPS you will wonder how ſuch an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr Wood, could have ſo much intereſt as to get his MAJESTY's broad ſeal, for ſo great a ſum of bad money to be ſent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the ſame favour, and let us make our own *half-pence*, as we uſed to do. Now I will make that matter very plain: we are at a great diſtance from the King's *court*, and have no-body there to ſolicit for us, altho' a great number of *lords* and *ſquires*, whoſe eſtates are here, and are our countrymen, ſpend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this ſame Mr Wood was able to attend conſtantly for his own intereſt; he is an Engliſhman, and had great friends, and it ſeems knew very well *where to give money* to thoſe, that would ſpeak to others, that could ſpeak to the *King*, and would tell a *fair ſtory*. And *his Majeſty*, and perhaps the great Lord, or Lords who adviſed him, might think it was for our *country's good*; and ſo, as the lawyers expreſs it, the *King* was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am ſure, if *his Majeſty* knew that ſuch a patent, if it ſhould take effect according to the deſire of Mr Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given ſuch great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recal it, and perhaps ſhew his diſpleaſure to *ſome body* or *other*: but a *word to the wiſe is enough*. Moſt of you muſt have heard with what anger our *honourable houſe of Commons* received an account of this Wood's *patent*. There were ſeveral *fine ſpeeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top*; and ſeveral *ſmart votes* were printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in *print*, and in ſo confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

THIS Wood, as ſoon as his *patent* was paſſed, or ſoon after, ſends over a great many *barrels of thoſe half-pence* to Cork, and other ſea-port *towns*, and to get them off offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *ſeventy* or *eighty* in ſilver: but the *collectors* of the *King*'s cuſtoms very honeſtly refuſed to take them, and ſo did almoſt every body elſe. And ſince the parliament hath condemned them, and deſired the *King* that they might be ſtopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

BUT Wood is ſtill working under-hand to force his *half-pence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail ſo far as to get an order, that the *commiſſioners* and *collectors* of the *King*'s money ſhall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* ſhall be *done*. And this is the difficulty you will be under in ſuch a caſe; for the common ſoldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *ale-houſe*, will offer this money; and, if it be refuſed, perhaps he will *ſwagger* and *hector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *ale-wife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *half-pence*. In this, and the like caſes, the *ſhop-keeper*, or *victualler*, or any other *tradeſman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart* of *ale*, and ſo in all things elſe, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

FOR ſuppoſe you go to an *ale-houſe* with that baſe money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of thoſe *half-pence*, what muſt the *victualler* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* ſhould be ſuch a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their † *bere*, becauſe they are bound, by their leaſes, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the *'Squire*, their landlord, will never be ſo bewitched to take ſuch *traſh* for his land; ſo that it muſt certainly ſtop ſomewhere or other, and wherever it ſtops, it is the ſame thing, and we are all undone.

THE common weight of theſe *half-pence* is between four and five to an ounce; ſuppoſe five, then three ſhillings

† A ſort of barley in Ireland.

lings and four-pence will weigh a pound, and conſequently twenty ſhillings will weigh ſix pounds *butter weight*. Now there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a year rent; therefore when one of theſe *farmers* comes with his half year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at leaſt ſix hundred pound weight, which is three horſes load.

If a *'ſquire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and ſpices for himſelf and family, or perhaps to paſs the winter here, he muſt bring with him five or ſix horſes loaden with *ſacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and, when his lady comes in her coach to our ſhops, it muſt be followed by a car loaded with Mr Wood's money. And I hope we ſhall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They ſay 'Squire Conolly † hath *ſixteen* thouſand pounds a year; now if he ſends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he muſt have two hundred and fifty *horſes* to bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great cellars in his houſe for ſtowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am aſſured, that ſome great *bankers* keep by them forty thouſand pounds in ready caſh to anſwer all payments: which ſum, in Mr Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horſes to carry it.

For my own part, I am already reſolved what to do: I have a pretty good ſhop of Iriſh ſtuffs and *ſilks*, and inſtead of taking Mr Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers* and *bakers* and *brewers*, and the reſt, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *ſilver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am juſt ready to ſtarve, and then I will buy Mr Wood's money, as my father did the braſs money in King James's time, who could buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *piſtole*, and ſo purchaſe *bread* from thoſe, who will be ſuch fools as to ſell it me.

These *half-pence*, if they once paſs, will ſoon be *counterfeited*, becauſe it may be cheaply done, the *ſtuff* is ſo *baſe*. The Dutch likewiſe will probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for our *goods*;

† Then Speaker of the houſe of Commons.

and Mr Wood will never be at reſt, but coin on; ſo that in ſome years we ſhall have at leaſt five times 108,000*l.* of this *lumber*. Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thouſand pounds in all; and while there is a *ſilver* ſix-pence left, theſe *blood-ſuckers* will never be quiet.

WHEN once the *kingdom* is reduced to ſuch a condition, I will tell you what muſt be the end: the *gentlemen of eſtates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, becauſe, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leaſes to pay *ſterling*, which is lawful current money of England: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run *all* into *ſheep*, where they can, keeping only ſuch other cattle as are neceſſary: then they will be their own *merchants*, and ſend their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen* beyond ſea for ready *money*, and *wine*, and *ſpices*, and *ſilks*. They will keep only a few miſerable *cottages*: the *farmers* muſt *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *ſhopkeepers* in this and every other town muſt *break* and *ſtarve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *ſhopkeeper*, and *handicraftſman*.

BUT when the *'ſquire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himſelf, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to ſend for England, and keep ſome poor *taylor* or *weaver* and the like in his own houſe, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I ſhould never have done, if I were to tell you all the miſeries that we ſhall undergo, if we be ſo *fooliſh* and *wicked* as to take this *curſed coin*. It would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould be put into *one ſcale*, and this ſorry fellow Wood into the other; that Mr Wood ſhould weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*: and that is more than the Engliſh do by *all the world* beſides.

BUT your *great comfort* is, that as his Majeſty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, ſo the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *ſubject* to take what *money* the *King* pleaſes; for then, by the ſame reaſon, we might be bound to take *pebble-ſtones*, or *cockle-ſhells*,

ſhells, or *ſtamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we ſhould happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might likewiſe, by the ſame power, make a *guinea* paſs for *ten pounds*, a *ſhilling* for *twenty ſhillings*, and ſo on; by which he would, in a ſhort time, get all the *ſilver* and *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *braſs* or *leather*, or what he pleaſed. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppreſſive* in the French government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have ſunk it very low, and then coining it a-new at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thouſandth part ſo wicked as this *abominable project* of Mr Wood. For the French give their ſubjects *ſilver* for *ſilver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this *fellow* will not ſo much as give us good *braſs* or *copper* for our *gold* and *ſilver*, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

HAVING ſaid this much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of ſome great *lawyers* in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpoſe for your ſakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be ſure I went upon good grounds.

A famous law-book, *called the* mirrour of juſtice, *diſcourſing of the charters* (*or laws*) *ordained by our* ancient kings, *declares the law to be as follows: it was ordained, that no* King *of this realm ſhould change or impair the* money, *or make any other* money *than of* gold *or* ſilver, *without the aſſent of all the counties*; *that is, as* my Lord Coke * *ſays, without the aſſent of* Parliament.

THIS book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer *my Lord* Coke. † By the laws of England ſeveral metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *falſe metal*; the former comprehends *ſilver* or *gold*, the latter all *baſer metals*; that the former is only to paſs in payments, appears by an act of *parliament* ‡ made the twentieth year of Edward *the firſt*, called, *the ſtatute concerning the paſſing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it tranſlated into Engliſh; for ſome of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written

* 1 Inſt. 576.
† 2 Inſt. 576. 7.
‡ 2 Inſt. 577.

written in *latin*: *whoever in buying or ſelling preſumes to refuſe an half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the ſtamp which it ought to have, let him be ſeized on as a contemner of the King's Majeſty, and caſt into priſon.*

BY this *ſtatute*, no perſon is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *King's Majeſty*, and for that crime to be *committed to priſon*, but he who refuſeth to accept the King's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I obſerved before, *ſilver* and *gold* only are intended.

THAT this is the true *conſtruction* of the *act* appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my Lord Coke's * obſervation upon it. By this act (ſays he) it appears, that no ſubject can be forced to take in *buying*, or *ſelling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *ſilver* or *gold*.

THE law of England gives the King all mines of *gold* and ſilver, but not the mines of other *metals*; the reaſon of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my Lord Coke †, is, becauſe money can be made of *gold* and *ſilver*, but not of other *metals*.

PURSUANT to this opinion *half-pence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *ſilver*, which is evident from the act of *parliament* of Henry the fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: "Item, for the great ſcarcity "that is at preſent within the realm of *England* of half-"pence and farthings of *ſilver*, it is ordained and eſta-"bliſhed, that the third part of all the *money* of *ſilver* "*plate* which ſhall be brought to the *bullion*, ſhall be "made into *half pence* and *farthings*." This ſhews, that by the words *half-penny* and *farthing* of lawful money in that *ſtatute* concerning the *paſſing* of pence, is meant a ſmall coin in *half-pence* and *farthings* of *ſilver*.

THIS is further manifeſt from the ſtatute of the ninth year of Edward the third, chap. 3. which enacts, "that "no ſterling *half-penny* or *farthing* be molten for to make "veſſels or any other thing, by the *goldſmiths*, nor others, "upon the forfeiture of the *money* ſo molten (or melted.)"

BY another act in this King's reign, *black money* was not to be current in England. And, by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley half-pence* were not to paſs: what kind of coin theſe were, I do not

* 2 Inſt. 577. † 2 Inſt. 577.

not know; but I presume they were made of *base metal*. And these acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

THUS the *law* stands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's *reports*; who tells us, that, in the time of Tyrone's rebellion, Queen Elizabeth ordered *money* of *mixed metal* to be coined in the tower of London, and sent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all *silver money* should be taken only as *bullion*, that is, for as much as it weighed. Davis tells us several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a *merchant* in England to receive this *mixed money* for goods transmitted hither.

BUT this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no such legal power. And, besides, it is to be considered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom* assisted from Spain; and whatever is done in great exigences and dangerous times, should never be an example to proceed by in seasons of *peace* and *quietness*.

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *king*, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *silver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *silver*; not only the *half-pence* or *farthings* of England, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or ease, that you are content to take them; because the custom of coining silver *half-pence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose on account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those *vile half-pence* of that same Wood, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling.

THEREFORE, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this *filthy trash*. It is no treason to rebel against Mr Wood. His *Majesty*, in his patent, obliges no body to take

LETTER II.

A LETTER to Mr HARDING the printer, upon occaſion of a paragraph in his news-paper of Aug. 1. 1724, relating to Mr WOOD's HALF-PENCE.

IN your news-letter of the firſt inſtant there is a paragraph, dated from London July 25th, relating to Wood's half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my letter to the ſhop-keepers, &c. that this vile fellow would never be at reſt; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires new and freſh warning. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great meaſure, an impoſition upon the public; at leaſt I hope ſo, becauſe I am informed that Wood is generally his own news-writer; I cannot but obſerve from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not ſatisfied to ruin us with his traſh, takes every occaſion to treat this kingdom with the utmoſt contempt. He repreſents ſeveral of our merchants and traders, upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmoſt neceſſity of copper money here, before his patent; ſo that ſeveral gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards ſealed and ſubſcribed with their names. What then? If a phyſician preſcribe to a patient a dram of phyſic, ſhall a raſcal-apothecary cram him with a pound, and mix it up with poyſon? and is not a landlord's hand and ſeal to his own labourers a better ſecurity for five or ten ſhillings, than Wood's braſs, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thouſand pounds?

BUT who are theſe merchants and traders of Ireland that made this report of the utmoſt neceſſity we are under for copper money? they are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are to purchaſe a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the public, and their own private advantages.

Are

Are not theſe excellent witneſſes, upon whoſe integrity the fate of the kingdom muſt depend, evidences in their own cauſe, and ſharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deſerved the liberty of coining for ourſelves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, is every body's wonder, as well as mine, ten thouſand pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one fifth below the intrinſic value, and this ſum, with the ſtock of half-pence we then had, would have been ſufficient; but Wood, by his emiſſaries, enemies to God and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could; and from thence the preſent want of change ariſes; to remove which by Mr Wood's remedy, would be to cure a ſcratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But ſuppoſing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thouſand pounds would be a ſum fully ſufficient to anſwer all our occaſions. I am no inconſiderable ſhop-keeper in this town, I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of my own, and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and alſo with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two ſhillings in change for every family would be more than neceſſary in all dealings. Now, by the largeſt computation (even before that grievous diſcouragement of agriculture, † which hath ſo much leſſened our numbers) the ſouls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing ſix to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thouſand families, and conſequently two ſhillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thouſand pounds; whereas this honeſt, liberal, hard-ware-man, Wood, would impoſe upon us above four times that ſum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* reported an aſſay taken at the Tower of Wood's metal; by which it appears, that Wood had in all reſpects performed his contract. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to be the purchaſers? but they deteſt, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and

† Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing. ſee *p.* 2.

traſh. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impoſe his goods upon us by force.

BUT your news-letter ſays, that an aſſay was made of the coin. How impudent and inſupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two half-pence of good metal, ſends them to the Tower, and they are approved, and theſe muſt anſwer all that he hath already coined, or ſhall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often ſends to my ſhop for a pattern of ſtuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or ſends, and compares the pattern with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred ſheep, and the grazier ſhould bring me one ſingle wether fat and well fleeced, by way of pattern, and expect the ſame price round for the whole hundred, without ſuffering me to ſee them before he was paid, or giving me good ſecurity to reſtore my money for thoſe that were lean, or ſhorn, or ſcabby, I would be none of his cuſtomer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to ſell his houſe, and therefore carried a piece of brick in his pocket, which he ſhewed as a pattern to encourage purchaſers; and this is directly the caſe in point with Mr Wood's aſſay.

THE next part of the paragraph contains Mr Wood's voluntary propoſals for preventing any further objections or apprehenſions.

HIS firſt propoſal is, "that whereas he hath already "coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and has copper "prepared to make it up forty thouſand pounds, he will "be content to coin no more, unleſs the EXIGENCES OF "TRADE REQUIRE IT, altho' his patent impowers him "to coin a far greater quantity."

To which if I were to anſwer, it ſhould be thus: let Mr Wood and his crew of founders and tinkers coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the ſtreet, and call their trumpery by what name they pleaſe, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themſelves. But I hope, and truſt, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

THE

THE King has given him a patent to coin half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already ſhewn in my letter to the ſhopkeepers, &c. that the law hath not left it in the power of the prerogative to compel the ſubject to take any money, beſides gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard.

WOOD further propoſes, (if I underſtand him right, for his expreſſions are dubious) that "he will not coin above "forty thouſand pounds, unleſs the exigences of trade "require it." Firſt, I obſerve that this ſum of forty thouſand pounds is almoſt double to what I proved to be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, altho' we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I aſk, who is to be judge, when the exigences of trade require it? Without doubt he means himſelf; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who muſt be utterly ruined if this project ſhould ſucceed, we were never once conſulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our exigences by his own; neither will theſe be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices ſhall think they have enough: and it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and ſilver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the ſame coin.

I ſhall not enter into examination of the prices, for which he now propoſes to ſell his half-pence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that by his own firſt computation we were to pay three ſhillings for what was intrinſically worth but one, altho' it had been of the true weight and ſtandard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is ſo great a difference both in weight and badneſs in ſeveral of his coins, that ſome of them have been nine in ten below the intrinſic value, and moſt of them ſix or ſeven.

HIS laſt propoſal being of a peculiar ſtrain and nature, deſerves to be very particularly conſidered, both on account of the matter and the ſtyle. It is as follows:

"*Laſtly*, In conſideration of the direful apprehenſions "which prevail in *Ireland*, that Mr *Wood* will by ſuch "coinage drain them of their gold and ſilver; he pro-"poſes to take their manufactures in exchange, and

" that no perſon be obliged to receive more than five-
" pence half-penny at one payment."

FIRST, obſerve this little impudent hard-ware-man turning into ridicule the direful apprehenſions of a whole kingdom, priding himſelf as the cauſe of them, and daring to preſcribe (what no King of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation ſhall be obliged to take his braſs coin. And he has reaſon to inſult: for ſure there was never an example in hiſtory of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter deſtruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thouſand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt adminiſtration, but by one ſingle, diminutive, inſignificant mechanic.

BUT to go on: to remove our " direful apprehenſi-
" ons, that he will drain us of our gold and ſilver by his
" coinage, this little arbitrary mock-monarch moſt gra-
" ciouſly offers to take our manufactures in exchange."
Are our Iriſh underſtandings indeed ſo low in his opinion? Is not this the very miſery we complain of; that his curſed project will put us under the neceſſity of ſelling our goods for what is equal to nothing? How would ſuch a propoſal ſound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they ſhould offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we ſhould take their money at ten times higher than the intrinſic value? Does Mr Wood think, for inſtance, that we will ſell him a ſtone of wool for a parcel of his counters not worth ſixpence, when we can ſend it to England, and receive as many ſhillings in gold and ſilver? Surely there was never heard ſuch a compound of impudence, villainy and folly.

HIS propoſals conclude with perfect high treaſon. He promiſes, " that no perſon ſhall be obliged to receive
" more than five-pence half-penny of his coin in one
" payment." By which it is plain, that he pretends to oblige every ſubject in this kingdom to take ſo much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his patent obliges no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim ſuch a power, as I have often obſerved; ſo that here Mr Wood

Wood takes upon him the entire legiſlature, and an abſolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's adviſers? who are his ſupporters, abettors, encouragers, or ſharers? Mr Wood will oblige me to take five-pence half-penny of his braſs in every payment. And I will ſhoot Mr Wood and his deputies through the head like highwaymen or houſe-breakers, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loſs of honour to ſubmit to the lion; but who, with the figure of a man, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a rat? He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of ſeventeen ſhillings at leaſt in the pound: a tax, I ſay, not only upon lands, but intereſt-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftſmen, labourers and ſervants. Shopkeepers, look to yourſelves! Wood will oblige and force you to take five-pence half-penny of his traſh in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or elſe you can hardly find bread: and pray conſider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five-pence half-penny is nine ſhillings and two-pence, which is above an hundred and ſixty pounds a year, wherein you will be loſers of at leaſt one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr Wood on ſuch conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money periſh with him*. If the famous Mr Hambden rather choſe to go to priſon, than pay a few ſhillings to King Charles I. without authority of parliament; I will rather chuſe to be hanged than have all my ſubſtance taxed at ſeventeen ſhillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleaſure of the venerable Mr Wood.

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to ſay, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) "No evidence appeared from "*Ireland*, or elſewhere, to prove the miſchiefs complain-"ed of, or any abuſes whatſoever committed in the exe-"cution of the ſaid grant."

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. Firſt, the houſe of commons in Ireland, which repreſents the whole people of the kingdom; and ſe-

condly, the privy-council addreſſed his Majeſty againſt theſe half-pence: what could be done more to expreſs the univerſal ſenſe of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely againſt it, would not that be ſufficient to reject it? Muſt a committee of the whole houſe of commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr Wood? To what end did the King give his patent for coining half-pence in Ireland? was it not, becauſe it was repreſented to his ſacred Majeſty, that ſuch a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his ſubjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his repreſentation be falſe, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he ſo wicked and fooliſh to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or fourſcore thouſand pounds to himſelf? Before he was at the charge of paſſing a patent, much more of raking up ſo much filthy droſs, and ſtamping it with his Majeſty's image and ſuperſcription, ſhould he not firſt in common ſenſe, in common equity, and common manners, have conſulted the principal party concerned; that is to ſay, the people of the kingdom, the houſe of Lords, or Commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner ſhould aſk us, whoſe image and ſuperſcription there is on Wood's coin? we ſhould be aſhamed to tell him, it was Cæſar's. In that great want of copper half-pence which he alledges we were, our city ſet up our Cæſar's * ſtatue in excellent copper at an expence, that is equal in value to thirty thouſand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worſe metal.

I obſerve many of our people putting a melancholy caſe on this ſubject. It is true, ſay they, we are all undone if Wood's half-pence muſt paſs; but what ſhall we do, if his Majeſty puts out a proclamation commanding us to take them? This hath often been dinned in my ears. But I deſire my countrymen to be aſſured that there is nothing in it. The King never iſſues out a proclamation but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not iſſue out a proclamation againſt law; or if ſuch a thing ſhould happen by a miſtake, we are no more obliged

* An equeſtrian ſtatue of George I. at Eſſex bridge, Dublin.

liged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Beſides, his Majeſty will never command us by a proclamation, what he does not offer to command us in the patent itſelf. There he leaves it to our diſcretion; ſo that our deſtruction muſt be entirely owing to ourſelves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a proclamation, which will never be granted; and if it ſhould, yet upon this occaſion will be of no force. The King's revenues here are near four hundred thouſand pounds a year. Can you think his miniſters will adviſe him to take them in Wood's braſs, which will reduce the value to fifty thouſand pounds? England gets a million ſterling by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almoſt reduced to nothing: and do you think thoſe, who live in England upon Iriſh eſtates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in Wood's droſs?

If Wood and his confederates were not convinced of our ſtupidity, they never would have attempted ſo audacious an enterprize. He now ſees a ſpirit hath been raiſed againſt him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about watching when to devour us. He hopes we ſhall be weary of contending with him; and at laſt out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with oppoſition, we ſhall be forced to yield: and therefore, I confeſs, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your ſpirits and reſentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, muſt I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts waxed groſs?* are *their ears dull of hearing?* and have *they cloſed their eyes?* I fear there are ſome few *vipers* among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would ſell their ſouls and their country; altho' at laſt it ſhould end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

Altho' my letter be directed to you, Mr Harding, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no intereſt in this affair, but what is common to the public: I can live better than many others: I have ſome gold and ſilver by me, and a ſhop well furniſhed; and ſhall be able to make a ſhift, when many of my betters are ſtarving.

ving. But I am grieved to ſee the coldneſs and indifference of many people, with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a proclamation; others ſhrug up their ſhoulders, and cry, what would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they ſhall fare no worſe than their neighbours. Will a man, who hears midnight robbers at his door, get out of bed and raiſe his family for a common defence; and ſhall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr Wood comes at the head of his confederates to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our poſterity, for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to ſave your life; but God be thanked, Mr Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your ſide: when he or his accomplices offer you his droſs, it is but ſaying *no*, and you are ſafe. If a mad man ſhould come into my ſhop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of ſtuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr Wood comes to demand my gold and ſilver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and ſilver, in exchange for his traſh, can he deſerve or expect better treatment?

WHEN the *evil day* is come (if it muſt come) let us mark and obſerve thoſe, who preſume to offer theſe half-pence in payment. Let their names and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the firſt honeſt diſcoverer give the word about, that Mr Wood's half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

PERHAPS I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to ſay all that this melancholy ſubject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one propoſal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this deſtructive project at once. Let ſome ſkilful, judicious pen draw up an *advertiſement* to the following purpoſe:

"WHEREAS

"WHEREAS one William Wood, hard-ware-man, now "or lately ſojourning in the city of London, hath, by "many miſrepreſentations, procured a patent for coining "an hundred and eight thouſand pounds in copper half-"pence for this kingdom; which is a ſum five times "greater than our occaſions require: and whereas it is "notorious, that the ſaid Wood hath coined his half-pence "of ſuch baſe metal, and falſe weight, that they are at "leaſt ſix parts in ſeven below the real value: and whereas "we have reaſon to apprehend, that the ſaid Wood may "at any time hereafter clandeſtinely coin as many more "half-pence as he pleaſes: and whereas the ſaid patent "neither doth, nor can oblige his Majeſty's ſubjects to "receive the ſaid half-pence in any payment, but leaves "it to their voluntary choice; becauſe by law the ſub-"ject cannot be obliged to take any money, except "gold or ſilver: and whereas, contrary to the letter and "meaning of the ſaid patent, the ſaid Wood hath de-"clared, that every perſon ſhall be obliged to take five-"pence half-penny of his coin in every payment: and "whereas the houſe of commons, and privy-council, "have ſeverally addreſſed his moſt ſacred Majeſty, repre-"ſenting the ill conſequences which the ſaid coinage may "have upon this kingdom: and, laſtly, whereas it is "univerſally agreed, that the whole nation to a man (ex-"cept Mr Wood, and his confederates) are in the utmoſt "apprehenſions of the ruinous conſequences that muſt "follow from the ſaid coinage; therefore we, whoſe "names are underwritten, being perſons of conſiderable "eſtates in this kingdom, and reſiders therein, do un-"animouſly reſolve and declare, that we will never re-"ceive one farthing or half-penny of the ſaid Wood's "coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to re-"fuſe the ſaid coin from any perſon whatſoever; of "which that they may not be ignorant, we have ſent "them a copy of this advertiſement to be read to them "by our ſtewards, receivers, &c."

I could wiſh, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and ſigned by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom; and printed copies thereof ſent to their ſeveral tenants. I am deceived if any thing could ſooner defeat this execrable deſign of Wood, and his

his accomplices. This would immediately give the alarm, and ſet the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage to the meaneſt tenant and cottager. *How long O Lord, righteous and true!* &c.

I muſt tell you in particular, Mr Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred perſons have inquired at your houſe for my *letter to the ſhopkeepers*, &c. and you had none to ſell them. Pray keep yourſelf provided with that letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your ſake, any more than I do now. Pray advertiſe both in every news-paper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I deſire you likewiſe to ſell them as cheap as you can.

I am your ſervant,

M. B.

Aug. 4. 1724.

LET-

LETTER III.

SOME OBSERVATIONS upon a paper, called, *The report of the committee of the moſt honourable the* privy-council *in England, relating to* Wood's *half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom of Ireland.

HAVING already written two letters to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very preſſing occaſion for writing a third; I thought I could not more properly addreſs it than to your Lordſhips and Worſhips.

THE occaſion is this: a printed paper was ſent to me on the 18th inſtant, intitled, *A* report *of the committee of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable* privy-council *in* England *relating to Mr* Wood's *half-pence and farthings.* There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I ſuppoſe it to have been in Dublin: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the Gazette, but in the London journal, or ſome other print of no authority or conſequence And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to fright us; or a project of ſome printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publiſhing ſomething upon a ſubject, which now employs all our thoughts in this kingdom. Mr Wood, in publiſhing this paper, would inſinuate to the world, as if the committee had a greater concern for his credit, and private emolument, than for the honour of the privy-council, and both houſes of parliament here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it ſeems intended a vindication of Mr Wood, not without ſeveral ſevere reflections on the houſes of Lords and Commons of Ireland.

THE whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a diſpute between William Wood

Wood on the one part, and the Lords juſtices, privy-council, and both houſes of parliament on the other: the deſign of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other ſide with caſting raſh and groundleſs aſperſions upon him.

BUT if it be really what the title imports, Mr Wood hath treated the committee with great rudeneſs by publiſhing an act of theirs in ſo unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the government and privy-council of Ireland; to whom the committee adviſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted. But, with all deference be it ſpoken, I do not conceive, that a report of a committee of the council in England is hitherto a law in either kingdom; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains diſputable by every ſubject.

THIS (may it pleaſe your Lordſhips and Worſhips) may ſeem a ſtrange way of diſcourſing in an illiterate ſhopkeeper. I have endeavoured (altho' without the help of books) to improve that ſmall portion of reaſon God hath been pleaſed to give me; and when reaſon plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for inſtance, if any lawyer ſhould tell me that ſuch a point were law, from which many groſs palpable abſurdities muſt follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir Edward Coke ſhould poſitively aſſert (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a limited prince could by his prerogative oblige his ſubjects to take half an ounce of lead, ſtamped with his image, for twenty ſhillings in gold, I ſhould ſwear he was deceived, or a deceiver; becauſe a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood hath advanced in ſome of his papers; and what ſuſpicious people may poſſibly apprehend from ſome paſſages in that, which is called the *report*.

THAT paper mentions ſuch perſons to have been examined, who were deſirous and willing to be heard upon this ſubject. I am told they were four in all; Coleby, B—, Mr Finley the banker, and one more, whoſe name I know not. The firſt of theſe was tried for robbing the treaſury in Ireland: and tho' he was acquitted for want

of

of legal proof, yet every perſon in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, ſince I have gone ſo far as to mention particular perſons, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to know who is this Wood himſelf, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almoſt two years together. I find he is in the patent intitled *Eſquire*, altho' he were underſtood to be only a hard-ware-man; and ſo I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'ſquire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropſhire; where pretending to have been robbed, and ſuing the county, he was caſt, and for the infamy of the fact loſt his employment.

I have heard another ſtory of this 'ſquire Wood from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was ſent for ſix years ago by Sir Iſaac Newton to try the coinage of four men, who then ſolicited a patent for coining half-pence for Ireland; their names were Wood, Coſtor, Elliſton, and Parker. Parker made the faireſt offer, and Wood the worſt; for his coin were three half-pence in a pound weight leſs value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he ſolicited his patent; but not ſo plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the ſaid paper called the Report, that upon repeated orders from a ſecretary of ſtate for ſending over ſuch papers and witneſſes, as ſhould be thought proper to ſupport the objections made againſt the patent, (by both houſes of Parliament;) the Lord Lieutenant repreſented "the great difficulty he found "himſelf in, to comply with theſe orders: that none of "the principal members of both houſes who were in "the King's ſervice, or council, would take upon them "to adviſe, how any material perſon, or papers, might "be ſent over on this occaſion, *&c.*" And this is often repeated, and repreſented as "a proceeding that ſeems "very extraordinary, and that in a matter which had "raiſed ſo great a clamour in Ireland, no one perſon "could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in "ſupport of the united ſenſe of both houſes of Parlia-"ment in Ireland; eſpecially that the chief difficulty "ſhould ariſe from a general apprehenſion of a miſcar-"riage, in an inquiry before his Majeſty, or in a pro-

"ceeding by due courſe of law, in a caſe where both "houſes of Parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully "convinced, and ſatisfied upon evidence, and examina-"tions taken in the moſt ſolemn manner."

How ſhall I, a poor ignorant ſhopkeeper, utterly unſkilled in law, be able to anſwer ſo weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reaſon, unaſſiſted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole caſe, by calling the united ſenſe of both houſes of Parliament in Ireland an univerſal clamour. Here the addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of Ireland againſt a ruinous, deſtructive project of an obſcure, ſingle undertaker, is called a clamour. I deſire to know, how ſuch a ſtyle would be reſented in England from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many impeachments would follow upon it? But ſuppoſing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wiſe miniſter, who deſpiſed the univerſal clamour of a people; and if that clamour can be quieted by diſappointing the fraudulent practice of a ſingle perſon, the purchaſe is not exorbitant.

But in anſwer to this objection: firſt it is manifeſt, that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with ſuch limitations as have been formerly ſpecified in other patents, and granted to perſons of this kingdom, or even of England, able to give ſufficient ſecurity, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr Knox's patent mentioned in the Report, ſecurity was given into the Exchequer, that the patentee ſhould upon all demands be obliged to receive his half-pence back, and pay gold or ſilver in exchange for them. And Mr Moor (to whom I ſuppoſe that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year by the great crowds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the ſame reaſon. This entirely alters the caſe: for there is no ſuch condition in Wood's patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatſoever.

Put the caſe, that the two houſes of Lords and Commons of England, and the privy council there, ſhould

addreſs

addreſs his Majeſty to recal a patent, from whence they apprehended the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it ſtronger, if poſſible, that the whole nation almoſt to a man ſhould thereupon diſcover the moſt diſmal apprehenſions (as Mr Wood ſtyles them;) would his Majeſty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any miniſter dare adviſe him againſt recalling ſuch a patent? or would the matter be referred to the privy-council, or to Weſtminſter-hall; the two houſes of Parliament plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? and is there even the ſmalleſt difference between the two caſes?

WERE not the people of Ireland born as free as thoſe of England? how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their Parliament as fair a repreſentative of the people as that of England? and hath not their privy council as great, or a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs? are not they ſubjects of the ſame King? does not the ſame ſun ſhine upon them? and have they not the ſame God for their protector? am I a freeman in England, and do I become a ſlave in ſix hours by croſſing the channel? No wonder then if the boldeſt perſons were cautious to interpoſe in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation; or to preſume to repreſent the repreſentatives of the kingdom; and were juſtly apprehenſive of meeting ſuch a treatment as they would deſerve at the next ſeſſion. It would ſeem very extraordinary, if an inferior court in England ſhould take a matter out of the hands of the high court of Parliament during a prorogation, and decide it againſt the opinion of both houſes.

IT happens however, that altho' no perſons were ſo bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made againſt this patent by the high court of Parliament here, yet theſe objections ſtand good, notwithſtanding the anſwers made by Mr Wood and his council.

THE Report ſays, that, "upon an aſſay made of the "fineneſs, weight, and value of this copper, it exceed-"ed in every article." This is poſſible enough in the pieces upon which the aſſay was made; but Wood muſt have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a ſufficient quantity of ſuch

half-pence as would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, altho' they were taken out of ſeveral parcels; ſince it is now plain, that the biaſs of favour hath been wholly on his ſide.

BUT what need is there of diſputing, when we have a poſitive demonſtration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point? I have ſeen a large quantity of theſe half-pence weighed by a very ſkilful perſon, which were of four different kinds, three of them conſiderably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between theſe four ſorts; by which it appears, that the fourth ſort, or the lighteſt, differs from the firſt to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper the patentee will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty four thouſand four hundred and ninety four pounds; and in the whole the public will be a loſer of eighty two thouſand one hundred and ſixty eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings, even ſuppoſing the metal in point of goodneſs to anſwer Wood's contract, and the aſſay that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewiſe been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon ſeveral trials on many of theſe half-pence, have found them to be at leaſt one fourth part below the real value, not including the raps or counterfeits that he, or his accomplices, have already made of his own coin, and ſcattered about. Now the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lighteſt ſort of his half-pence, will amount to one hundred twenty two thouſand four hundred eighty eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings; and, if we ſubtract a fourth part of the real value by the baſe mixture in the metal, we muſt add to the public loſs one fourth part to be ſubtracted from the intrinſic value of the copper; which in three hundred and ſixty tons amounts to ten thouſand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former ſum of eighty two thouſand one hundred ſixty eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, will make in all ninety two thouſand two hundred forty eight pounds loſs to the public; beſides the raps or counterfeits that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the droſs excluſive or incluſive with his three hundred

hundred and ſixty tons of copper; which however will make a conſiderable difference in the account.

You will here pleaſe to obſerve, that the profit allowed to Wood by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper valued at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* whereas 5 *d.* only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the Engliſh half-pence: and this difference is almoſt 25 *per cent.* which is double to the higheſt exchange of money, even under all the additional preſſures and obſtructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at preſent. This one circumſtance, in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty pounds between Engliſh and Iriſh half-pence, even allowing thoſe of Wood to be all of the heavieſt ſort.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that for every half-penny in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, ſixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his comptrollers eaſy upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that theſe half-pence far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his Majeſty's predeceſſors: there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, altho' the fact were true; which however is altogether miſtaken, not by any fault in the committee, but by the fraud and impoſition of Wood, who certainly produced the worſt patterns he could find; ſuch as were coined in ſmall numbers by permiſſions to private men, as butchers half-pence, black-dogs, and others the like; or perhaps the ſmall St Patrick's coin, which paſſeth now for a farthing, or at beſt ſome of the ſmalleſt raps of the lateſt kind. For I have now by me half-pence coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my Lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than thoſe of Wood, and of much better metal; and the great St. Patrick's half-pence are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the preſent debate: if, under the various exigences of former times by wars, rebellions and inſurrections, the kings of England were ſometimes

forced to pay their armies here with mixt or baſe money; God forbid that the neceſſities of turbulent times ſhould be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and ſettlement.

IN the patent above mentioned, granted to Lord Dartmouth in the reign of King Charles the ſecond, and renewed to Knox, the ſecurities given into the Exchequer, obliging the patentee to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy againſt all inconveniencies; and the copper was coined in our kingdom; ſo that we were in no danger to purchaſe it with the loſs of all our ſilver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redreſſing any abuſe.

THAT the kings of England have exerciſed their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England, is not the preſent queſtion: but, to ſpeak in the ſtyle of the Report, it would ſeem a little extraordinary, ſuppoſing a king ſhould think fit to exerciſe his prerogative by coining copper in Ireland to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reaſonable, and whether the people deſired it or no, and without regard to the addreſſes of his Parliament againſt it. God forbid, that ſo mean a man as I ſhould meddle with the King's prerogative: but I have heard very wiſe men ſay, that the King's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people. I deſire to know, whether it be not underſtood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by this patent? But Ireland is not conſulted at all in the matter; and, as ſoon as Ireland is informed of it, they declared againſt it: the two houſes of Parliament and the privy-council addreſs his Majeſty upon the miſchiefs apprehended by ſuch a patent; the privy-council in England take the matter out of the Parliament's cognizance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr Wood ſhall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can ſuppoſe, that ſuch patents as theſe were originally granted with a view of being a jobb for the intereſt of a particular perſon to the damage of the public. Whatever profit muſt ariſe to the patentee, was ſurely meant

meant at beſt but as a ſecondary motive; and ſince ſomebody muſt be a gainer, the choice of the perſon was made either by favour or ſomething elſe, or by the pretence of merit and honeſty: this argument returns ſo often and ſtrongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majeſty, when he conſented to the paſſing of this patent, conceived he was doing an act of grace to his moſt loyal ſubjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr Wood, farther than as an inſtrument: but the people of Ireland think this patent (intended, no doubt, for their good) to be a moſt intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr Wood can never ſucceed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred, not only before the intereſt, but the very ſafety and being of a great kingdom; and a kingdom diſtinguiſhed for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the "juriſdiction of the houſe "of Lords aboliſhed at a ſtroke, by the hardſhips of the "act of navigation newly enforced, by all poſſible ob-"ſtructions in trade," and by a hundred other inſtances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the leaſt attempt towards an inſurrection in favour of the Pretender. Therefore, whatever juſtice a free people can claim, we have at leaſt an equal title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can beſtow on the moſt loyal ſubjects, we have reaſon to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deſerved to be ſacrificed to one ſingle, rapacious, obſcure, ignominious projector.

AMONG other clauſes mentioned in this patent to ſhew how advantageous it is to Ireland, there is one which ſeems to be of a ſingular nature: that the patentee ſhall be obliged during his term 'to pay eight hundred pounds 'a year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a year to 'the comptroller.' I have heard indeed, that the King's council do always conſider, in the paſſing of a patent, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewiſe heard, that it is at the ſame time conſidered, whether paſſing of it may be injurious to any other perſons or bodies politic? However, altho' the attorney and ſolicitor be ſervants to the King, and therefore bound to conſult his Majeſty's intereſt; yet I am under ſome doubt, whether

whether eight hundred pounds a year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thouſand pounds a year into his Majeſty's coffers in the midſt of all our taxes (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in England, even during the war) than purchaſe ſuch an addition to the revenue at the price of our utter undoing.

BUT here it is plain, that fourteen thouſand pounds are to be paid by Wood only as a ſmall, circumſtantial charge for the purchaſe of his patent: what were his other viſible coſts I know not, and what were his latent, is variouſly conjectured; but he muſt be ſurely a man of ſome wonderful merit. Hath he ſaved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of re-imburſing himſelf by the deſtruction of ours? Hath he diſcovered the longitude, or the univerſal medicine? No; but he hath found the philoſopher's ſtone after a new manner, by debaſing of copper, and reſolving to force it upon us for gold.

WHEN the two houſes repreſented to his Majeſty, that this patent to Wood was obtained in a clandeſtine manner, ſurely the committee could not think the Parliament would inſinuate, that it had not paſſed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquiſites were due. They knew very well, that perſons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * Lord Lieutenant of Ireland affirmed, it was a ſecret to him; and who will doubt of his veracity, eſpecially when he ſwore to a perſon of quality, from whom I had it, that Ireland ſhould never be troubled with theſe halfpence. It was a ſecret to the people of Ireland, who were to be the only ſufferers; and thoſe who beſt know the ſtate of the kingdom, and were moſt able to adviſe in ſuch an affair, were wholly ſtrangers to it.

IT is allowed by the Report, that this patent was paſſed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of Ireland: and it is there elaborately ſhewn, that former patents have paſſed in the ſame manner, and are good in law. I ſhall not diſpute the legality of patents, but am ready to ſuppoſe it in his Majeſty's power to grant a patent

* Duke of Grafton.

tent for ſtamping round bits of copper to every ſubject he hath. Therefore, to lay aſide the point of law, I would only put the queſtion, whether in reaſon and juſtice it would not have been proper in an affair, upon which the welfare of the kingdom depends, that the ſaid kingdom ſhould have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the patentee and the officers of the crown, who were to be the only gainers by it.

THE Parliament, who in matters of this nature are the moſt able and faithful counſellors, did repreſent this grant to be deſtructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people: to which the only anſwer is, that the King hath a prerogative to make ſuch a grant.

IT is aſſerted, that in the patent to Knox his half-pence are made and declared the current coin of the kingdom; whereas in this to Wood, there is only a power given to iſſue them to ſuch as will receive them. The authors of the Report, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by law, declare any thing to be current money by his letters patents; I dare ſay they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his Majeſty's juſt and merciful reign? But altho' that clauſe be not in Wood's patent, yet poſſibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, whereby a power is given to William Wood "to "break into houſes in ſearch of any coin made in imita-"tion of his." This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject; yet this is a precedent taken from Knox's patent, where the ſame power is granted; and is a ſtrong inſtance, what uſes may be ſometimes made of precedents.

BUT altho', before the paſſing of this patent, it was not thought neceſſary to conſult any perſons of this kingdom, or make the leaſt inquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long paſſed, when Wood hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin ſix times as much more, the committee hath been pleaſed to make this affair the ſubject of inquiry; Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which conſiſt, as I have already

ready obſerved, of four in number, whereof Coleby, B—, and Mr Finley the banker, are three. And theſe were to prove, that copper money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The firſt had been out of the kingdom almoſt twenty years, from the time that he was tried for robbing the treaſury; and therefore his knowledge and credibility are equal. Mr Finley, one of the other witneſſes, honeſtly confeſſed, that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a large diſcount, and ſell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thouſand pounds for himſelf.

BUT ſuppoſe there were not one ſingle half-penny of copper coin in this whole kingdom, (which Mr Wood ſeems to intend, unleſs we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emiſſaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the ſhilling more than they paſs for) it could not be any real evil to us, altho' it might be ſome inconvenience. We have many ſorts of ſmall ſilver coins, to which they are ſtrangers in England; ſuch as the French three-pences, four-pence half-pennies, and eight-pence farthings, the Scotch five-pences and ten-pences, beſides their twenty-pences, and three and four-pences, by which we are able to make change to a half-penny of almoſt any piece of gold or ſilver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a ſealed card with the little gold and ſilver ſtill remaining, it will, I ſuppoſe, be ſomewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither obliged by his patent, nor HITHERTO able by his eſtate, to make good.

THE Report farther tells us, 'it muſt be admitted, that 'letters patents, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, for 'coining copper money for Ireland are legal and obliga'tory, a juſt and reaſonable exerciſe of his Majeſty's royal 'prerogative, and in no manner derogatory or invaſive of 'any liberty or privilege of his ſubjects of Ireland.' Firſt, we deſire to know, why his Majeſty's prerogative might not have been as well aſſerted by paſſing this patent in Ireland, and ſubjecting the ſeveral conditions of the contract to the inſpection of thoſe who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, ſince the mixt money

ney in Queen Elizabeth's time during the difficulties of a rebellion: whereas now upon the greateſt impoſition, that can poſſibly be practiſed, we muſt go to England with our complaints; where it hath been for ſome time the faſhion to think, and to affirm, that we cannot be too hardly uſed. Again the Report ſays, that ſuch patents are obligatory. After long thinking I am not able to find out, what can poſſibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of Wood neither obligeth him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be ſo far void, becauſe no patent can oblige the ſubject againſt law; unleſs an illegal patent paſſed in one kingdom, can bind another, and not itſelf.

LASTLY, it is added, that "ſuch patents are in no "manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or pri-"vilege of the King's ſubjects of *Ireland*." If this propoſition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expreſſed or implied, it muſt follow, that a king of England may at any time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his ſubjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practiſed by the late King James; and even without that arbitrary Prince's excuſe from the neceſſity and exigences of his affairs. If this be in no manner derogatory, nor invaſive of any liberties or privileges of the ſubjects of Ireland, it ought to have been expreſſed what our liberties and privileges are, and whether we have any at all; for in ſpecifying the word Ireland, inſtead of ſaying his Majeſty's ſubjects, it would ſeem to inſinuate, that we are not upon the ſame foot with our fellow-ſubjects in England; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly aſſerted; for I do not underſtand that Poining's act deprived us of our liberty, but only changed the manner of paſſing laws here (which however was a power moſt indirectly obtained) by leaving the negative to the two houſes of Parliament. But waving all controverſies relating to the legiſlature, no perſon, I believe, was ever yet ſo bold as to affirm, that the people of Ireland have not the ſame title to the benefits of the common law with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by common law,

law, we of Ireland have the ſame; ſo that, in my humble opinion, the word Ireland ſtanding in that propoſition was in the mildeſt interpretation a lapſe of the pen.

THE Report farther aſſerts, that "the precedents are "many, wherein caſes of great importance to Ireland, "and which immediately affected the intereſts of that "kingdom, ſuch as warrants, orders and directions by "the authority of the King and his predeceſſors, have "been iſſued under the royal ſign manual, without any "previous reference or advice of his Majeſty's officers "of Ireland, which have always had their due force, "and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed." It may be ſo, and I am heartily ſorry for it; becauſe it may prove an eternal ſource of diſcontent. However, among all theſe precedents, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

THERE is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of precedents. If a jobb is to be done, and upon ſearching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to juſtify the legality of it by producing his precedents; without ever conſidering the motives and circumſtances that firſt introduced them; the neceſſity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of miniſters, or the arbitrary diſpoſition of the Prince then reigning. And I have been told by perſons eminent in the law, that the worſt actions which human nature is capable of, may be juſtified by the ſame doctrine. How the firſt precedents began of determining caſes of the higheſt importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its intereſts, without any previous reference or advice to the King's officers here, may ſoon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the ſubmiſſion of Tyrone in the laſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various ſcene of war and peace between the Engliſh pale and the Iriſh natives; and the government of that part of this iſland, which lay in the Engliſh hands, was in many things under the immediate adminiſtration of the King: ſilver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at leaſt upon great neceſſity a mixt or baſe metal was ſent from England. The reign of King James I. was employed in ſettling the

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kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; and this nation flouriſhed extremely till the time of the maſſacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in Dublin.

By all that I can diſcover, the copper coin of Ireland, for three hundred years paſt, conſiſted of ſmall pence and half-pence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and diſtricts, according to the perſonal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have ſeen many ſorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for Ireland, till the reign of King Charles the ſecond, which was in the year 1680, to George Legge Lord Dartmouth; and renewed by King James the ſecond, in the firſt year of his reign (1680) to John Knox. Both patents were paſſed in Ireland; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty ſhillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or ſilver.

The patents both of Lord Dartmouth and Knox were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already ſaid, were paſſed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to Lord Dartmouth; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by Roger Moor to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and ſolicitor, that it was not for his Majeſty's ſervice, or the intereſt of the nation to have it renewed, it was rejected by King William. It ſhould therefore ſeem very extraordinary, that a patent for coining copper half-pence, intended and profeſſed for the good of the kingdom, ſhould be paſſed without once conſulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a poor, private, obſcure mechanic; and a patent of ſuch a nature, that as ſoon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being paſſed, they cry out unanimouſly againſt it as ruinous and deſtructive. The repreſentatives of the nation in Parliament, and the Privy-council, addreſs the King to have it recalled; yet the patentee, ſuch a one as I have deſcribed, ſhall prevail to have this

patent approved; and his private intereſt ſhall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St Paul ſays, *All things are* lawful, *but all things are not* expedient. We are anſwered, that this patent is *lawful:* but is it *expedient?* We read, that the high prieſt ſaid, *It was expedient that one man ſhould die for the people*; and this was a moſt wicked propoſition: but that a *whole nation ſhould die for one man*, was never heard of before.

BUT becauſe much weight is laid on the precedents of other patents for coining copper for Ireland, I will ſet this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at leaſt could be produced of copper coined for Ireland by virtue of patents paſſed in England; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one precedent ſhewn of a patent paſſed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above an hundred years paſt; and if there were any before, it muſt be in times of confuſion. The only patents I could ever hear of, are thoſe already mentioned to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare theſe patents with that granted to Wood. Firſt, the patent to Knox, which was under the ſame conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth, was paſſed in Ireland; the government and the attorney and ſolicitor-general making report, that it would be uſeful to this kingdom.

THE patent was paſſed with the advice of the King's council here; the patentee was obliged to receive his coin from thoſe who thought themſelves ſurcharged, and to give gold and ſilver for it. Laſtly, the patentee was to pay only 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; firſt, I find the half-pence were milled, which, as it is of great uſe to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore induſtriouſly avoided by Wood) ſo it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodneſs of the metal, I have ſeveral half-pence now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than thoſe coined by Wood; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impreſſion is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to

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ſome of Wood's by a fraud natural to ſuch patentees; but not ſo immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumſtance Mr Wood muſt ſerve for a precedent in future times.

LET us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It paſſed upon very falſe ſuggeſtions of his own and of a few confederates: it paſſed in England without the leaſt reference hither; it paſſed unknown to the very Lord Lieutenant, then in England. Wood is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thouſand pounds, and all the officers in the kingdom (civil and military) are commanded in the *report* to countenance and aſſiſt him. Knox had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged to receive his coin back again at our demand, and to enter into ſecurity for ſo doing. Wood's halfpence are not milled, and therefore more eaſily counterfeited by himſelf, as well as by others: Wood pays a thouſand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years; Knox paid only ſixteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

IT was the *report*, that ſet me the example of making a compariſon between thoſe two patents, wherein the committee was groſsly miſled by the falſe repreſentation of William Wood; as it was by another aſſertion, that ſeven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty one years of Lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents. Such a quantity of copper at the rate of two ſhillings and eight pence *per* pound would amount to about an hundred and ninety thouſand pounds; which was very near as much as the current caſh of the kingdom in thoſe days; yet during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for ſeveral years there was no coining at all: beſides, I am aſſured, that upon inquiring into the cuſtom-houſe-books, all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty one (beſides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty ſeven tons; and we cannot ſuppoſe even that ſmall quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: ſo that I believe there was never any compariſon more unluckily made, or ſo deſtructive of the deſign for which it was produced.

THE *Pſalmiſt* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he ſelleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them.* That we have greatly offended God by the wickedneſs of our lives, is not to be diſputed: but our King we have not offended in word or deed; and altho' he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not puniſh us for any offences, except thoſe we ſhall commit againſt his legal authority, his ſacred perſon (which God preſerve), or the laws of the land.

THE *report* is very profuſe in arguments, that Ireland is in great want of copper money: who were the witneſſes to prove it, hath been ſhewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be judges? Does not the nation beſt know its own wants? Both houſes of Parliament, the Privy-council, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we deſire they may not be ſupplied by Mr Wood: we know our own wants but too well; they are many, and grievous to be born, but quite of another kind. Let England be ſatisfied: as things go, they will in a ſhort time have all our gold and ſilver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchaſe it with our manufactures, which Wood hath graciouſly offered to accept. Our wants are not ſo bad by a hundredth part as the method he hath taken to ſupply them. He hath already tried his faculty in New-England; and I hope he will meet at leaſt with an equal reception here; what that was, I leave to public intelligence. I am ſuppoſing a wild caſe; that if there ſhould be any perſon already receiving a monſtrous penſion out of this kingdom, who was inſtrumental in procuring the patent, they have either not well conſulted their own intereſts, or Wood muſt put more droſs into his copper, and ſtill diminiſh its weight.

UPON Wood's complaint, that the officers of the King's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the *report* ſays, that this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding, and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The committee ſay, "they cannot "adviſe his Majeſty to give directions to the officers of "the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the "ſaid

"ſaid coin, as hath been deſired in the addreſſes of both "houſes; but, on the contrary, they think it both juſt "and reaſonable, that the King ſhould immediately give "orders to the Commiſſioners of the revenue, &c. to re-"voke all orders, &c. that may have been given by "them to hinder or obſtruct the receiving the ſaid coin." And accordingly, we are told, ſuch orders are arrived. Now this was a caſt of Wood's politics; for his information was wholly falſe and groundleſs, which he knew very well; and that the Commiſſioners of the revenue here were all, except one, ſent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken ſuch a ſtep; but Wood was wiſe enough to conſider, that ſuch orders of revocation would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noiſe, and poſſibly create ſome terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he hath gained, that altho' any orders of revocation will be needleſs, yet a new order is to be ſent (and perhaps is already here) to the Commiſſioners of the revenue, and all the King's officers in Ireland, that Wood's half-pence "be ſuffered and permitted, without any let, ſuit, trouble, "moleſtation, or denial of any of the King's officers or "miniſters whatſoever, to paſs, and be received as cur-"rent money by ſuch as ſhall be willing to receive them." In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all officers, both civil and military, from the Lord High Chancellor to a Juſtice of Peace, and from the General to an Enſign; ſo that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of managers enough. For my own part, as things ſtand, I have but little regret to find myſelf out of the number; and therefore I ſhall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-ſubjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger ſteps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needleſs to argue any longer. The matter is come to an iſſue. His Majeſty purſuant to the law hath left the field open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have law, reaſon, liberty and neceſſity to refuſe it. A knaviſh jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the

market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary*, and *willing to receive it*, will be underſtood and applied in their true natural meaning, as commonly underſtood by Proteſtants For if a fierce captain comes to my ſhop to buy ſix yards of ſcarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a ſack of Wood's coin upon his ſhoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my ſcarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin, and calls me a diſaffected, Jacobite dog, for refuſing it (altho' I am as loyal a ſubject as himſelf, and without hire) and thereupon ſeizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this caſe I ſhall hardly be brought to think, that I am left to my own will. I ſhall therefore on ſuch occaſions firſt order the porter aforeſaid to go off with his pack; and then ſee the money in ſilver and gold in my poſſeſſion, before I cut or meaſure my cloth. But if a common ſoldier drinks his pot firſt, and then offers payment in Wood's half-pence, the landlady may be under ſome difficulty; for if ſhe complains to his captain or enſign, they are likewiſe officers included in this general order for encouraging theſe half-pence to paſs as current money. If ſhe goes to a juſtice of peace, he is alſo an officer, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore adviſe her to follow my practice, which I have already beguſſ, and be paid for her goods before ſhe parts with them. However, I ſhould have been content, for ſome reaſons, that the military gentlemen had been excepted by name; becauſe I have heard it ſaid, that their diſcipline is beſt confined within their own diſtrict.

His Majeſty, in the concluſion of his anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords againſt Wood's coin, is pleaſed to ſay, that "he will do every thing in his power to "the ſatisfaction of his people." It ſhould ſeem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be underſtood as a thing in his power. But however, ſince the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and conſequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preſerve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom ſhould continue in a firm, determinate reſolution never to receive or utter this fatal coin. After which let the officers,

cers, to whom theſe orders are directed (I would willingly except the military) come with their exhortations, their arguments, and their eloquence, to perſuade us to find our intereſt in our undoing. Let Wood and his accomplices travel about the country with cart-loads of their ware, and ſee who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a high-way-man would ſcorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the Commiſſioners of the revenue will proceed in this juncture; becauſe, I am told, they are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing but gold and ſilver in payment for his Majeſty's cuſtoms: and I think they cannot juſtly offer this coinage of Mr Wood to others, unleſs they will be content to receive it themſelves.

The ſum of the whole is this: the "committee adviſes the King to ſend immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be ſuffered and permitted without any let, ſuit, trouble, &c. to paſs, and to be received as current money by ſuch as ſhall be willing to receive the ſame." It is probable, that the firſt willing receivers may be thoſe, who muſt receive it whether they will or no, at leaſt under the penalty of loſing an office. But the landed undepending men, the merchants, the ſhop-keepers, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almoſt confident, will never receive it. What muſt the conſequence be? the owners will ſell it for as much as they can get. Wood's half-pence will come to be offered for ſix a penny, (yet then he will be a ſufficient gainer) and the neceſſary receivers will be loſers of two thirds in their ſalaries or pay.

This puts me in mind of a paſſage I was told many years ago in England. At a quarter-ſeſſion in Leiceſter the juſtices had wiſely decreed to take off a half-penny in a quart from the price of ale. One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had paſſed, ſaid thus: "Gentlemen, you have made an order, that ale ſhould be ſold in our county for three half-pence a quart; I deſire you will now make another to appoint who muſt drink it; for by G—— I will not."

I muſt beg leave to caution your Lordſhips and Worſhips in one particular. Wood hath graciouſly promiſed

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to load us at preſent only with forty thouſand pounds of his coin, "until the exigencies of the kingdom require "the reſt." I intreat you will never ſuffer Mr Wood to be a judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of ſilver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an exigency. He will double his preſent quantum by ſtealth as ſoon as he can; he will pour his own raps and counterfeits upon us; France and Holland will do the ſame; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them: to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a rap, or counterfeit half-penny, in imitation of his; but ſo ill performed, that in my conſcience I believe it is not of his coining.

I muſt now deſire your Lordſhips and Worſhips, that you will give great allowance for this long undigeſted paper. I find myſelf to have gone into ſeveral repetitions, which were the effects of haſte, while new thoughts fell in, to add ſomething to what I had ſaid before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully anſwered every paragraph in the *report*; which altho' it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the ſpirit of a pleader, who can find the moſt plauſible topics in behalf of his client, yet there was no great ſkill required to detect the many miſtakes contained in it; which however are by no means to be charged upon the right honourable committee, but upon the moſt falſe, impudent, and fraudulent repreſentations of Wood and his accomplices. I deſire one particular may dwell upon your minds, altho' I have mentioned it more than once; that after all the weight laid upon precedents, there is not one produced in the whole *report*, of a patent for coining copper in England to paſs in Ireland; and only two patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both paſſed in Ireland, by references to the King's council here, both leſs advantageous to the coiner than this of Wood; and in both, "ſecurities given to receive the coin at every call, and "give gold and ſilver in lieu of it." This demonſtrates the moſt flagrant falſhood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the right honourable committee his inſtruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom, which has deſerved quite different treatment.

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a houſe is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakeſt in the family runs firſt to ſtop the door. All the aſſiſtance I had, were ſome informations from an eminent perſon; wherof I am afraid I have ſpoiled a few by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the reſt I was not able to manage: I was in the caſe of David, who *could not move in the armour of* Saul; and therefore I rather choſe to attack this *uncircumciſed* Philiſtine (Wood I mean) *with a ſling and a ſtone.* And I may ſay for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he reſembles Goliah in many circumſtances very applicable to the preſent purpoſe: for Goliah had "a helmet of braſs upon his head, "and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight "of the coat was five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, and he "had greaves of braſs upon his legs, and a target of "braſs between his ſhoulders." In ſhort, he was like Mr Wood, all over *braſs*, and *he defied the armies of the living God.* Goliah's conditions of combat were likewiſe the ſame with thoſe of Wood: 'if he prevail 'againſt us, then ſhall we be his ſervants.' But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he ſhall never be a ſervant of mine; for I do not think him fit to be truſted in any honeſt man's ſhop.

I will conclude with my humble deſire and requeſt, which I made in my ſecond letter, that your Lordſhips and Worſhips would pleaſe to order a declaration to be drawn up, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt terms your reſolutions never to receive or utter any of Wood's half-pence, or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the ſaid declaration may be ſigned by as many perſons as poſſible*, who have eſtates in this kingdom, and be ſent down to your ſeveral tenants aforeſaid.

And if the dread of Wood's half-pence ſhould continue until next quarter-ſeſſions, which I hope it will not, the

* A declaration purſuant to this requeſt was ſigned ſoon after by the moſt conſiderable perſons of the kingdom, which was univerſally ſpread, and of great uſe.

the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring againſt them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

(may it pleaſe your Lordſhips and Worſhips.)

your moſt dutiful and

obedient ſervant,

Aug. 25. 1724.

M. B.

LET-

LETTER IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My dear countrymen,

HAVING already written three LETTERS upon ſo diſagreeable a ſubject as Mr Wood and his halfpence, I conceived my taſk was at an end; but I find that cordials muſt be frequently applied to weak conſtitutions, political as well as natural. A people long uſed to hardſhips loſe by degrees the very notions of liberty; they look upon themſelves as creatures at mercy, and that all impoſitions laid on them by a ſtronger hand are, in the phraſe of the *report*, legal and obligatory. Hence proceed that poverty and lowneſs of ſpirit, to which a kingdom may be ſubject, as well as a particular perſon. And when Eſau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he ſold his *birth-right for a meſs of pottage*.

I thought I had ſufficiently ſhewn to all who could want inſtruction, by what methods they might ſafely proceed, whenever this coin ſhould be offered to them: and I believe, there hath not been for many ages an example of any kingdom ſo firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at preſent againſt that deteſtable fraud. But however, it ſo happens, that ſome weak people begin to be alarmed a-new by rumours induſtriouſly ſpread. Wood preſcribes to the news-mongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers publiſhed here by ſome obſcure printer (and certainly with a bad deſign) we are told, that the Papiſts in Ireland have entered into an aſſociation againſt his coin: altho' it be notoriouſly known, that they never once offered to ſtir in the matter; ſo that the two houſes of Parliament, the Privy-council, the great numbers of corporations, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, the grand-juries, and principal gentlemen of ſeveral counties, are ſtigmatized in a lump under the name of Papiſts.

THIS

THIS impoſtor and his crew do likewiſe give out, that by refuſing to receive his droſs for ſterling, we "diſpute "the King's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, "and ready to ſhake off the dependency of Ireland upon "the crown of England." To countenance which reports he hath publiſhed a paragraph in another newspaper to let us know, that "the Lord Lieutenant is "ordered to come over immediately to ſettle his half-"pence."

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the leaſt concern upon theſe, and the like rumours, which are no more than the laſt howls of a dog diſſected alive, as I hope he hath ſufficiently been. Theſe calumnies are the only reſerve that is left him. For ſurely our continued and (almoſt) unexampled loyalty will never be called in queſtion for not ſuffering ourſelves to be robbed of all that we have by one obſcure iron-monger.

As to diſputing the King's prerogative, give me leave to explain to thoſe who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word, *prerogative*, is.

THE Kings of theſe realms enjoy ſeveral powers, wherein the laws have not interpoſed; ſo they can make war and peace without the conſent of Parliament, and this is a very great prerogative: but if the Parliament doth not approve of the war, the King muſt bear the charge of it out of his own purſe; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the King hath a prerogative to coin money without conſent of Parliament: but he cannot compel the ſubject to take that money, except it be ſterling, gold or ſilver; becauſe herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their prerogative farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of ſucceeding ages, as fond as they are of precedents, have never dared to juſtify them. But, to ſay the truth, it is only of late times that prerogative hath been fixed and aſcertained. For whoever reads the hiſtory of England will find, that ſome former Kings, and thoſe none of the worſt, have upon ſeveral occaſions ventured to controul the laws, with very little ceremony or ſcruple, even later than the days of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counſel of ſending baſe money hither very narrowly failed of loſing the

the kingdom; being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the Council, and the whole body of the Engliſh here: ſo that, ſoon after her death, it was recalled by her ſucceſſor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

HAVING thus given you ſome notion of what is meant by the King's prerogative, as far as a tradeſman can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great Lord Bacon, that, "as GOD governs "the world by the ſettled laws of nature, which he hath "made, and never tranſcends thoſe laws but upon high, "important occaſions: ſo, among earthly princes, thoſe "are the wiſeſt and the beſt, who govern by the known "laws of the country, and ſeldomeſt make uſe of their "prerogative."

Now here you may ſee, that the vile accuſation of Wood and his accomplices, charging us with diſputing the King's prerogative, by refuſing his braſs, can have no place; becauſe compelling the ſubject to take any coin, which is not ſterling, is no part of the King's prerogative; and I am very confident, if it were ſo, we ſhould be the laſt of his people to diſpute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have alwiſe paid to his Majeſty, as from the treatment we might in ſuch a caſe juſtly expect *from ſome*, who ſeem to think we have neither *common ſenſe*, *nor common ſenſes*. But, God be thanked, the beſt of them are only our fellow-ſubjects, and not our maſters. One great merit I am ſure we have, which thoſe of Engliſh birth can have no pretence to, that our anceſtors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a worſe climate, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not conſent, a ruined trade, a houſe of Peers without juriſdiction, almoſt an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's half-pence.

BUT we are ſo far from diſputing the King's prerogative in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for ſetting his royal image and ſuperſcription upon whatever materials he pleaſes; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan, only attended with one ſmall limitation, that no body alive is obliged to take them.

UPON theſe conſiderations I was ever againſt all re-

courſe to England for a remedy againſt the preſent impending evil; eſpecially when I obſerved, that the addreſſes of both houſes after long expectance produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of Wood; upon which I made ſome obſervations in a former letter, and might at leaſt have made as many more; for it is a paper of as ſingular a nature as I ever beheld.

BUT I miſtake; for before this *report* was made, his Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer to the houſe of Lords was ſent over, and printed; wherein are theſe words, *granting the patent for coining half-pence and farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *&c.* That King Charles II. and King James II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpoſe, is indiſputable, and I have ſhewn it at large. Their patents were paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay ſilver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great ſeal of England, the braſs coined in England, not the leaſt reference made to Ireland; the ſum immenſe, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, becauſe in my private thoughts I have ſometimes made a query, whether the penner of thoſe words in his Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely conſidered the ſeveral circumſtances, which in my poor opinion ſeem to make a difference.*

LET me now ſay ſomething concerning the other great cauſe of ſome people's fear, as Wood has taught the London news-writer to expreſs it, that *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to ſettle Wood's half-pence.*

WE know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants for ſeveral years paſt have not thought this kingdom worthy the honour of their reſidence, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's buſineſs; which conſequently wanted no ſpeed in the diſpatch. And therefore it naturally fell into moſt men's thoughts that a new governor, coming

* See the note at the end of this lette

coming at an unuſual time, muſt portend ſome unuſual buſineſs to be done; eſpecially if the common report be true, that the Parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new ſummons revoking that prorogation to aſſemble ſoon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other ſide the water have by great good fortune found two precedents.

ALL this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that ſo little a creature as Wood could find credit enough with the King and his miniſters to have the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ſent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

FOR, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of ſome people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great ſeal of England, upon falſe ſuggeſtions, to one William Wood for coining copper half-pence for Ireland: the Parliament here, upon apprehenſions of the worſt conſequences from the ſaid patent, addreſs the King to have it recalled: this is refuſed, and a committee of the Privy-council *report* to his Majeſty, that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the beſt he can with his half-pence, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewiſe left to themſelves unite as one man, reſolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifeſt, that the King and his miniſtry are wholly out of the caſe, and the matter is left to be diſputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to perſuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be diſpatched over in great haſte before the ordinary time, and a parliament ſummoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thouſand pounds into the pocket of a ſharper by the ruin of a moſt loyal kingdom?

BUT ſuppoſing all this to be true, by what arguments could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the ſame Parliament, which addreſſed with ſo much zeal and earneſtneſs againſt this evil, to paſs it into a law? I am ſure their opinion of Wood and his project are not mended ſince their laſt prorogation; and ſuppoſing thoſe methods ſhould be uſed, which detractors tell us have been ſometimes put in practice for gaining votes, it is well known, that in this

kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is as well known to whoſe ſhare they muſt fall.

BUT, becauſe great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you ſome reaſons, why there are ſo few employments to be diſpoſed of in this kingdom. All conſiderable offices for life here are poſſeſſed by thoſe, to whom the reverſions were granted; and theſe have been generally followers of the chief governors, or perſons who had intereſt in the court of England; ſo the Lord Berkely of Stratton holds that great office of Maſter of the Rolls; the Lord Palmerſtown is firſt Remembrancer, worth near 2000 *l. per annum*. One Dodington, Secretary to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the reverſion of Clerk of the Pells, worth 2500 *l.* a-year, which he now enjoys by the death of the Lord Newtown. Mr Southwell is Secretary of State, and the Earl of Burlington Lord High Treaſurer of Ireland by inheritance. Theſe are only a few among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reverſion of ſeveral employments during pleaſure is granted the ſame way. This among many others is a circumſtance, whereby the kingdom of Ireland is diſtinguiſhed from all other nations upon earth, and makes it ſo difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr Addiſon was forced to purchaſe an old obſcure place, called *Keeper of the Records in Bermingham's tower*, of ten pounds a-year, and to get a ſalary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, tho' all the records there are not worth half a crown either for curioſity or uſe. And we lately ſaw * a favourite Secretary deſcend to be Maſter of the Revels, which by his credit and extortion he hath made pretty conſiderable. I ſay nothing of the Under-treaſurerſhip, worth about 9000 *l.* a-year, nor of the Commiſſioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in England; for I think none of theſe are granted in reverſion. But the jeſt is, that I have known upon occaſion ſome of theſe abſent officers as keen againſt the intereſt of Ireland, as if they had never been indebted to her for a ſingle groat.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes tempted to wiſh, that this

* Mr Hopkins, Secretary to the Duke of Grafton.

this project of Wood might ſucceed; becauſe I reflected with ſome pleaſure, what a jolly crew it would bring over among us of Lords, and 'Squires, and penſioners of both ſexes, and officers civil and military, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we ſhould neither have meat to feed, nor manufactures to cloath us, unleſs we could be content to prance about in coats of mail, or eat braſs as oſtridges do iron.

I return from this digreſſion to that which gave me the occaſion of making it; and I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of Ireland were as temptable as any other aſſembly within a mile of Chriſtendom (which God forbid;) yet the managers muſt of neceſſity fail for want of tools to work with. But I will yet go one ſtep further by ſuppoſing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpoſe to gratify compliers: yet ſtill an inſuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that money is neither whig nor tory, neither of town nor country party; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuſe to live upon his own eſtate, which brings him gold and ſilver, than with the addition of an employment, when his rents and ſalary muſt both be paid in Wood's braſs at above eighty *per cent.* diſcount.

For theſe, and many other reaſons, I am confident you need not be under the leaſt apprehenſions from the ſudden expectation of the Lord Lieutenant*, while we continue in our preſent hearty diſpoſition, to alter which no ſuitable temptation can poſſibly be offered. And if, as I have often aſſerted from the beſt authority, the law hath not left a power in the crown to force any money, except ſterling, upon the ſubject; much leſs can the crown devolve ſuch a power upon another.

This I ſpeak with the utmoſt reſpect to the perſon and dignity of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, whoſe character was lately given me by a gentleman, that hath known him from his firſt appearance in the world: that gentleman deſcribes him as a young man of great accompliſhments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

much ſpirit and vivacity. He hath ſince, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal Secretary of State; and is now about the thirty ſeventh year of his age appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From ſuch a governor this kingdom may reaſonably hope for as much proſperity as, under ſo many diſcouragements, it can be capable of receiving.

IT is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of ſo much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible conſequence to this kingdom by their power with thoſe who are in office; and by their arts in managing or deluding others with oaths, affability, and even with dinners. If Wood's braſs had in thoſe times been upon the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. Depending perſons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a ſervice expected from them, under the pain of the public buſineſs being put into more complying hands. Others would be allured by promiſes. To the country gentlemen, beſides good words, burgundy, and cloſeting, it might perhaps have been hinted, how kindly it would be taken to comply with a royal patent, altho' it were not compulſory: that if any inconveniencies enſued, it might be made up with other graces or favours hereafter: that gentlemen ought to conſider whether it were prudent or ſafe to diſguſt England: they would be deſired to think of ſome good bills for encouraging of trade, and ſetting the poor to work; ſome further acts againſt Popery, and for uniting Proteſtants. There would be ſolemn engagements, that we ſhould never be troubled with above forty thouſand pounds in his coin, and all of the beſt and weightieſt ſort, for which we ſhould only give our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and ſilver at home. Perhaps a ſeaſonable report of ſome invaſion would have been ſpread in the moſt proper juncture; which is a great ſmoother of rubs in public proceedings: and we ſhould have been told, that this was no time to create differences, when the kingdom was in danger.

THESE, I ſay, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken to let in this deluge of braſs among us; and, I am confident, even then would not have ſucceeded;

ſucceeded; much leſs under the adminiſtration of ſo excellent a perſon as the Lord CARTERET; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themſelves and their poſterity for ever will be dated from the admiſſion of that execrable coin that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a ſmall or moderate quantity, than a plague can be confined to a few families; and that no equivalent can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcaſe can be recovered to life by a cordial.

THERE is one comfortable circumſtance in this univerſal oppoſition to Mr Wood, that the people ſent over hither from England to fill up our vacancies, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, are all on our ſide. Money, the great divider of the world, hath by a ſtrange revolution been the great uniter of a moſt divided people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a-year in England (a country of freedom) to be paid a thouſand in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made primate*, would never quit his ſeat in an Engliſh houſe of Lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Briſtol worth twelve hundred pounds a-year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an Iriſhman, at leaſt upon this one article, as any of his brethren, or even of us, who have had the misfortune to be born in this iſland: for thoſe who, in the common phraſe, do not come hither to learn the language, would never change a better country for a worſe, to receive braſs inſtead of gold.

ANOTHER ſlander ſpread by Wood and his emiſſaries, is, that by oppoſing him we diſcover an inclination to ſhake off our dependence upon the crown of England. Pray obſerve how important a perſon is this ſame William Wood; and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private intereſt. Firſt, all thoſe who refuſe to take his coin are Papiſts; for he tells us, that none but Papiſts are aſſociated againſt him. Secondly, they diſpute the King's prerogative. Thirdly, they are ripe for rebellion. And, fourthly, they are going to ſhake off their dependence upon the crown of England; that

* Dr. Hugh Boulter.

that is to ſay, they are going to chuſe another King; for there can be no other meaning in this expreſſion, however ſome may pretend to ſtrain it.

AND this gives me an opportunity of explaining to thoſe who are ignorant another point, which hath often ſwelled in my breaſt. Thoſe who come over hither to us from England, and ſome weak people among ourſelves, whenever in diſcourſe we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, ſhake their heads, and tell us, that * Ireland is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would ſeem by this phraſe to intend, that the people of Ireland are in ſome ſtate of ſlavery or dependence different from thoſe of England: whereas a *depending kingdom* is a modern term of art, unknown as I have heard to all antient civilians, and writers upon government; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in ſome ſtatutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a ſtyle as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expreſſion, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be underſtood than that, by a ſtatute made here in the thirty third year of Henry VIII. "the King, and his ſucceſſors, "are to be Kings imperial of this realm, as united and "knit to the imperial crown of England." I have looked over all the Engliſh and Iriſh ſtatutes without finding any law, that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourſelves to have the ſame King with them; and conſequently they are obliged to have the ſame King with us. For the law was made by our own Parliament; and our anceſtors then were not ſuch fools (whatever they were in the preceeding reign) to bring themſelves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of, without any ground of law, reaſon, or common ſenſe.

LET whoever think otherwiſe, I, M. B. *drapier*, deſire to be excepted: for I declare, next under GOD, I *depend* only on the King my Sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am ſo far from *depending* upon the people of England, that, if they ſhould ever rebel againſt my Sovereign (which GOD forbid) I would be ready at the firſt command from his Majeſty to take arms.

* See the note at the end of this letter.

arms againſt them, as ſome of my countrymen did againſt theirs at Preſton. And if ſuch a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, I would venture to tranſgreſs that ſtatute ſo far, as to loſe every drop of my blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland*.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of England have ſometimes aſſumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at firſt openly oppoſed (as far as truth, reaſon, and juſtice are capable of oppoſing) by the famous Mr Molineux, an Engliſh gentleman born here, as well as by ſeveral of the greateſt patriots and beſt whigs in England; but the love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both ſides were invincible. For in reaſon, all government without the conſent of the governed, is the very definition of ſlavery: but in fact, eleven men well armed will certainly ſubdue one ſingle man in his ſhirt. But I have done: for thoſe who have uſed power to cramp liberty, have gone ſo far as to reſent even the liberty of complaining; altho' a man upon the rack was never known to be refuſed the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to ſink too much under unreaſonable fears, ſo we are too ſoon inclined to be raiſed by groundleſs hopes, according to the nature of all conſumptive bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for ſeveral days paſt, that *ſomebody* in England empowered a ſecond *ſomebody* to write to a third *ſomebody* here to aſſure us, that we ſhould no more be troubled with theſe half-pence. And this is reported to have been done by the † ſame perſon, who is ſaid to have ſworn ſome months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats* (tho' I doubt they would *ſtick in our ſtomachs:*) but which ever of theſe reports be true or falſe, it is no concern of ours. For in this point we have nothing to do with Engliſh miniſters: and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it; for the report of the committee hath given me a ſurfeit.

* This paragraph gave great offence. See letter V.

† Mr Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

forfeit. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digreſſed a little, in order to refreſh and continue that ſpirit ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you; and to let you ſee, that by the laws of GOD, of *nature*, of *nations*, and of your *country*, you *are*, and *ought* to be as *free* a people as your brethren in England.

IF the pamphlets publiſhed at London by Wood and his *journeymen*, in defence of his cauſe, were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be perſuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked deſign, more than all I ſhall ever be able to ſay. In ſhort, I make him a perfect *ſaint* in compariſon of what he appears to be from the writings of thoſe whom he *hires* to juſtify his project. But he is ſo far maſter of the field, (let others gueſs the reaſon) that no London printer dare publiſh any paper written in favour of Ireland: and here no body hath yet been ſo bold as to publiſh any thing in favour of him.

THERE was, a few days ago, a pamphlet ſent me of near fifty pages, written in favour of Mr Wood and his coinage, printed in London: it is not worth anſwering, becauſe probably it will never be publiſhed here. But it gave me occaſion to reflect upon an unhappineſs we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our caſe; which however is no wonder, ſince it is a point they do not in the leaſt concern themſelves about, farther than perhaps as a ſubject of diſcourſe in a coffee-houſe, when they have nothing elſe to talk of. For I have reaſon to believe, that no miniſter ever gave himſelf the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence; becauſe I ſuppoſe their opinions are already determined, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices; elſe it would be impoſſible, that any man could have the impudence to write ſuch a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

OUR neighbours, whoſe underſtandings are juſt upon a level with ours (which perhaps are none of the brighteſt) have a ſtrong contempt for moſt nations, but eſpecially for Ireland. They look upon us as a ſort of *ſavage* Iriſh, whom our anceſtors conquered ſeveral hundred years ago. And if I ſhould deſcribe the Britons to you as they were in Cæſar's time, when they painted their bodies, or

clothed

clothed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts, I ſhould act full as reaſonably as they do. However, they are ſo far to be excuſed in relation to the preſent ſubject, that hearing only one ſide of the cauſe, and having neither opportunity nor curioſity to examine the other, they believe a lie merely for their eaſe; and conclude, becauſe Mr Wood pretends to have power, he hath alſo reaſon on his ſide.

THEREFORE, to let you ſee how this caſe is repreſented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of thoſe notorious falſhoods in point of fact and reaſoning contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their own right ſentiments, when they will ſee, by comparing both, how much their enemies are in the wrong.

FIRST, the writer poſitively aſſerts, "that Wood's "half-pence were current among us for ſeveral months, "with the univerſal approbation of all people, without "one ſingle gainſayer; and we all, to a man, thought "ourſelves happy in having them."

SECONDLY, he affirms, "that we were drawn into a "diſlike of them only by ſome cunning, evil-deſigning "men among us, who oppoſed this patent of Wood to "get another for themſelves."

THIRDLY, "that thoſe, who moſt declared at firſt a-"gainſt Wood's patent, were the very men who intend "to get another for their own advantage."

FOURTHLY, "that our Parliament and Privy-council, "the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, the grand "juries and merchants, and in ſhort the whole kingdom, "nay, the very dogs (as he expreſſeth it) were fond of "thoſe half-pence, till they were inflamed by thoſe few "deſigning perſons aforeſaid."

FIFTHLY, he ſays directly, "that all thoſe who op-"poſed the half-pence, were Papiſts, and enemies to "King George."

THUS far, I am confident, the moſt ignorant among you can ſafely ſwear from your own knowledge, that the author is a moſt notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being ſo manifeſt to the whole kingdom, that,

that if occaſion required, we might get it confirmed under five hundred thouſand hands.

SIXTHLY, he would perſuade us, "that if we ſell five "ſhillings worth of our goods or manufactures for two "ſhillings and four pence worth of copper, altho' the "copper were melted down; and that we could get five "ſhillings in gold and ſilver for the ſaid goods; yet to "take the ſaid two ſhillings and four pence in copper "would be greatly for our advantage."

AND, laſtly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, "that if we will take off two hundred "thouſand pounds in his half-pence for our goods, and "likewiſe pay him three *per cent.* intereſt for thirty years "for an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds (at which "he computes the coinage above the intrinſic value of "the copper) for the loan of his coin, he will after that "time give us good money for what half-pence will be "then left."

LET me place this offer in as clear a light as I can, to ſhew the inſupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. Firſt (ſays he) "I will ſend two hun"dred thouſand pounds of my coin into your country: "the copper I compute to be, in real value, eighty thou"ſand pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and "twenty thouſand pounds for the coinage; ſo that you "ſee, I lend you an hundred and twenty thouſand "pounds for thirty years; for which you ſhall pay me "three *per cent*; that is to ſay, three thouſand ſix hun"dred pounds *per annum*, which in thirty years will a"mount to an hundred and eight thouſand pounds. And "when theſe thirty years are expired, return me my "copper, and I will give you good money for it."

THIS is the propoſal made to us by Wood in that pamphlet written by one of his commiſſioners: and the author is ſuppoſed to be the ſame infamous Coleby, one of his under-ſwearers at the committee of council, who was tried for robbing the treaſury here, where he was an under-clerk.

BY this propoſal he will firſt receive two hundred thouſand pounds, in goods or ſterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thouſand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thouſand pounds. Secondly, he will receive

receive for intereſt an hundred and eight thouſand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his half-pence upon his executors, (for before that time he will be probably gone to *his own place*) thoſe executors will very reaſonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

METHINKS I am fond of ſuch a *dealer* as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a Dutch reckoning, wherein if you diſpute the unreaſonableneſs and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord ſhall bring it up every time with new additions.

ALTHO' theſe and the like pamphlets publiſhed by Wood in London are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much indignation as contempt would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a ſpecimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our ſilence: and the Engliſh in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refuſal to wilfulneſs or diſaffection, juſt as Wood and his hirelings are pleaſed to repreſent.

BUT altho' our arguments are not ſuffered to be printed in England, yet the conſequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to perſuade the people there, that we ought to *receive* his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to *reject* it under pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his *beſt* and his *worſt*.

BEFORE I conclude, I muſt beg leave in all humility to tell Mr Wood, that he is guilty of great indiſcretion by cauſing ſo honourable a name as that of Mr Walpole to be mentioned ſo often and in ſuch a manner upon this occaſion. A ſhort paper printed at Briſtol, and reprinted here, reports Mr Wood to ſay, "That he wonders at the "impudence and inſolence of the Iriſh in refuſing his coin, "and what he will do when *Mr Walpole* comes to town." Where by the way he is miſtaken; for it is the *true* Engliſh *people* of Ireland who refuſe it, altho' we take it for granted, that the Iriſh will do ſo too whenever they are aſked. In another printed paper of his contriving, it is roundly expreſſed, that Mr Walpole will *cram his braſs*

down our throats. Sometimes it is given out, that we muſt *either take theſe half-pence, or eat our brogues:* and in another news-letter, but of yeſterday, we read, that the ſame great man *hath ſworn to make us ſwallow his coin in fire-balls.*

THIS brings to my mind the known ſtory of a Scotch man, who receiving the ſentence of death with all the circumſtances of *hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this* COOKERY? and I think we have reaſon to aſk the ſame queſtion; for, if we believe Wood, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us; and you ſee the *bill of fare*; and I am ſorry the *drink* was forgot, which might eaſily be ſupplied with *melted lead* and *flaming pitch.*

WHAT vile words are theſe to put into the mouth of a great counſellor, in high truſt with his Majeſty, and looked upon as a prime miniſter? If Mr Wood hath no better a manner of repreſenting his patrons, when I come to be a *great man* he ſhall never be ſuffered to attend at my *levee.* This is not the ſtyle of a great miniſter; it ſavours too much of the *kettle* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of Wood's *forge.*

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain; for if his coin ſhould paſs, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach*; becauſe then we ſhould have neither *ſhoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the falſhood of Mr Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr Walpole never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *ſwallowing theſe half-pence in fire-balls*, it is a ſtory equally improbable. For to execute this operation, the whole ſtock of Mr Wood's coin and metal muſt be melted down and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reaſonable throat may be able to ſwallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared and already coined, will amount to at leaſt fifty millions of *half-pence* to be *ſwallowed* by a million and an half of people; ſo that, allowing two half-pence to each *ball*, there will be about ſeventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be ſwallowed by every perſon in the kingdom; and, to adminiſter this doſe, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thouſand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty;

which

which, conſidering the *ſqueemiſhneſs* of ſome ſtomachs, and the *peeviſhneſs* of *young children*, is but reaſonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of ſuch an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be ſpurious, or, at leaſt, only a new ſcheme of Mr Wood himſelf; which, to make it paſs the better in Ireland, he would father upon a *miniſter of ſtate*.

BUT I will now demonſtrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr Walpole is againſt this project of Mr Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the univerſal opinion of being a wiſe man, an able miniſter, and in all his proceedings purſuing the true intereſt of the King his maſter; and that as his integrity is above all corruption, ſo is his fortune above all temptation. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly ſafe from that corner, and ſhall never be under the neceſſity of contending with ſo *formidable a power*, but be left to poſſeſs our *brogues* and *putatoes* in peace, as * *remote from thunder as we are from* Jupiter.

I am, my dear countrymen,

your loving fellow-ſubject,

fellow-ſufferer, and

humble ſervant,

Octob. 13, 1724. M. B.

* *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, ſoon after the publication of this letter, the paſſages from which this note is referred to were ſelected as ſufficient ground for proſecution, and a proclamation was publiſhed by his Excellency and council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for diſcovering the author. Harding the printer was impriſoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared againſt him: which gave occaſion to the following paper.

Seaſonable ADVICE to the GRAND-JURY, concerning the bill preparing againſt the PRINTER of the preceding LETTER.

SINCE a bill is preparing for the grand-jury to find againſt the printer of the Drapier's laſt letter, there are ſeveral things maturely to be conſidered by thoſe gentlemen before they determine upon it.

Firſt, They are to conſider, that the author of the ſaid pamphlet did write three other diſcourſes on the ſame ſubject; which, inſtead of being cenſured, were univerſally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raiſed and continued that ſpirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if thoſe pamphlets had not been written, his coin muſt have over-run the nation ſome months ago.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered, that this pamphlet, againſt which a proclamation hath been iſſued, is written by the ſame author: that no body ever doubted the innocence and goodneſs of his deſign; that he appears thro' the whole tenor of it, to be a loyal ſubject to his Majeſty, and devoted to the houſe of Hanover, and declares himſelf in a manner peculiarly zealous againſt the Pretender. And if ſuch a writer, in four ſeveral treatiſes on ſo nice a ſubject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was neceſſary to ſpeak of England and of liberty, ſhould in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expreſſion, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done, eſpecially when we conſider, that he could have no poſſible deſign in view either of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well conſidered, whether any one expreſſion in the ſaid pamphlet be really liable to a juſt exception, much leſs to be found *wicked, malicious, ſeditious, reflecting upon his Majeſty and his miniſtry*, &c.

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is ſaid the proſecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are firſt, where the author

author mentions the penner of the King's anſwer. *Firſt*, It is well known his Majeſty is not maſter of the Engliſh tongue; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſome other perſon ſhould be employed to pen what he hath to ſay, or write in that language. *Secondly*, His Majeſty's anſwer is not in the firſt perſon, but in the third. It is not ſaid, WE ARE CONCERNED, OF OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, theſe are properly not the words of his Majeſty; but ſuppoſed to be taken from him, and tranſmitted hither by one of his miniſters. *Thirdly*, It will be eaſily ſeen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his ſentiments upon this particular with the utmoſt caution and reſpect, as any impartial reader will obſerve.

THE ſecond paragraph, which it is ſaid will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author ſays of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: he explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in Ireland, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is king of* England *ſhall be king of* Ireland. Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that ſome lawyers ſhould fully inform the jury what other law there is, either ſtatute or common, for this *dependency*; and if there be no law, there is no tranſgreſſion.

THE *fourth* thing very maturely to be conſidered by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: the people in general find no fault in the Drapier's laſt book, any more than in the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a grand-jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favour of Wood's coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take thoſe halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to ſtand out: ſo that the queſtion comes to this, which will be of the worſt conſequence? to let paſs one or two expreſſions, at the worſt only unwary, in a book written for the public ſervice; or to leave a free open paſſage for Wood's braſs to over-run us, by which we ſhall be undone for ever.

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THE *fifth* thing to be considered is, that the members of the grand-jury being merchants and principal shopkeepers can have no suitable temptation offered them, as a recompence for the mischief they will do, and suffer by letting in this coin: nor can be at any loss or danger by rejecting the bill They do not expect any employments in the state, to make up in their own private advantages by the destruction of their country; whereas those who go about to *advise*, *entice*, or *threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments, which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the case of all those who signed the proclamation to have the author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, so renowned for his piety, and wisdom, and love of his country, absolutely refused to condemn the book or the author.

Lastly, It ought to be considered, what consequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expressions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But how can it be supposed that an ignorant printer can be such a *critick*? He knew the author's design was honest, and approved by the whole kingdom: he advised with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could see none himself: it was sent him in an unknown hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that they knew not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring punishment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the author, unless he will please to discover himself; altho' I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I suppose, what he did at first out of modesty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable ascribed to Demosthenes: he had served the people of Athens with great fidelity in the station of an orator; when upon a certain occasion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the following story. Once upon a time the *wolves* desired a league with the *sheep*, upon this condition, that the cause of strife might

might be taken away, which was the *ſhepherds* and *maſtiffs*: this being granted, the *wolves* without all fear made havock of the *ſheep*.

November 11. 1724.

" Copies of this paper were diſtributed to every perſon of the grand-jury the evening before the bill was " to be exhibited; who, probably for the reaſons contained in it, refuſed to find the bill; upon which the " Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, who had preſided at a former proſecution of the Dean's printer *, diſcharged them in a rage. The following extract was ſoon after publiſhed, to ſhew the illegality of this proceeding; and the next grand-jury that was empannelled made the ſubſequent preſentment againſt all the abetters of Wood's project. See *Letter to Lord Moleſworth*, *p.* 83. of this volume.

* See the firſt note prefixed to the Propoſal for the ſole uſe of Iriſh manufactures, in this volume.

An extract from a book, intitled, *An exact collection of the debates of the houſe of Commons, held at Weſtminſter, Oct.* 21. 1680, *p.* 150.

RESOLUTIONS *of the houſe of Commons in England, Nov.* 13. 1680.

SEVERAL perſons being examined about the diſmiſſing a grand-jury in Middleſex, the houſe came to the following RESOLUTIONS:

Reſolved, That the diſcharging of a grand-jury by any judge, before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while maters are under their conſideration, and not preſented, is arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Reſolved:

Reſolved, That a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in Weſtminſter-hall; and report the ſame, with their opinion herein, to this houſe.

The

Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, for his conduct, deſerved to have been impeached by the houſe of Commons; becauſe the diſſolving of a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters are under their conſideration, and not preſented, is arbitrary illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the realm. But as the houſe of Commons forbore to execute their vengeance upon the Chief Juſtice, Swift ſeized upon him as a prey, laſhed him, and worried him out of all his patience, by many ſarcaſtic epigrams, ſquibs, and other ſevere reflections upon his unworthy demeanor, until at laſt he became odious and ridiculous to the whole kingdom. Neither could his death, which happened ſoon after, appeaſe the vengeance of the incenſed patriot. For Swift, reſolving to make him an example to all future ages, purſued him into the regions of the dead, and coupled him with Anytus the accuſer of Socrates. Such indeed was at laſt the ſacrifice that poor unfortunate Whitſhed became unto the reſentment of Dr. Swift.——See Swift's poems concerning Whitſhed, vol. 6. alſo, *A ſhort view of Ireland*; and *An anſwer to a memorial*, in this volume. See alſo *The life and character of Dr. Swift*. vol. 1. Dr. Swift.

The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND-JURY of the county of the city of Dublin.

WHEREAS ſeveral great quantities of baſe metal coined, commonly called Wood's half-pence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in ſeveral houſes of this city, with an intention to make them paſs clandeſtinely among his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; notwithſtanding the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, and the privy council, and the declarations of moſt of the corporations of this city againſt the ſaid coin: and whereas his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his loyal ſubjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuſe the ſaid half pence.

WE the *grand-jury* of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas term 1724, having entirely at heart his Majeſty's intereſt, and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly ſenſible of the great diſcouragements which trade hath ſuffered by the apprehenſions of the ſaid coin, whereof we have already felt the diſmal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his Majeſty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our poſterity, do *preſent* all ſuch perſons as have attempted, or ſhall endeavour by fraud, or otherwiſe, to impoſe the ſaid half-pence upon us, contrary to his Majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, as enemies to his Majeſty's government, and to the ſafety, peace, and welfare of all his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; whoſe affections have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by their zeal to his illuſtrious family before his happy acceſſion to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever ſince.

As we do, with all juſt gratitude, acknowledge the ſervices of all ſuch *patriots* as have been eminently *zealous* for the intereſt of his Majeſty and this country in detecting the fraudulent impoſition of the ſaid Wood, and preventing the paſſing his baſe coin; ſo we do at the ſame time declare our abhorrence and deteſtation of all reflections on his Majeſty and his government; and that we

are

are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his moſt ſacred Majeſty againſt the *Pretender*, and all his Majeſty's open and ſecret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the Grand-jury chamber, this 28th of November, 1724.

George Forbes,	David Tew,
William Empſon,	Thomas How,
Nathaniel Pearſon,	John Jones,
Joſeph Nuttall,	James Brown,
William Aſton,	Charles Lyndon,
Stearn Tighe,	Jerom Bredin,
Richard Walker,	John Sican,
Edmond French,	Anthony Brunton,
John Vereilles,	Thomas Gaven,
Philip Pearſon,	Daniel Elwood,
Thomas Robins,	John Brunet.
Richard Dawſon,	

" The preceding paper was publiſhed about a month " after the proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward " of 300 *l.* for the diſcovering the author of the " Drapier's fourth letter.

A Letter to the Right Honourable

The Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH.

[Written in the year 1724.]

They compaſſed me about alſo with words of deceit, and fought againſt me without a cauſe,

For my love they are my adverſaries; but I give myſelf unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. Pſal. cix. 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; leſt at any time thou fear the perſon of the mighty, and lay a ſtumbling block in the way of thy uprightneſs.

Offend not againſt the multitude of a city, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the people.

Bind not one ſin upon another, for in one thou ſhalt not be unpuniſhed. Ecclus vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr HARDING,

WHEN I ſent you my former papers, I cannot ſay I intended you either *good* or *hurt*: and yet you have happened thro' my means to receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and increaſe the *former*. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the moſt unfortunately circumſtantiated; for as you deal in the moſt worthleſs kind of traſh, the penny

penny productions of pennyleſs ſcriblers; ſo you often venture your liberty, and ſometimes your lives, for the purchaſe of half a crown; and by your own ignorance, are puniſhed for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you in particular think you have reaſon to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in priſon, to your great expence, as well as hardſhip; and for a proſecution ſtill impending. But I will tell you, Mr Harding, how that matter ſtands. Since the preſs hath lain under ſo ſtrict an inſpection, thoſe who have a mind to inform the world, are become ſo cautious as to keep themſelves, if poſſible, out of the way of danger. My cuſtom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written we ſend to your houſe by a black-guard boy But, at the ſame time, I do aſſure you upon my reputation, that I never did ſend you any thing for which I thought you could poſſibly be called to an account. And you will be my witneſs, that I always deſired you, by a letter, to take ſome good advice before you ventured to print; becauſe I knew the dexterity of dealers in the law at finding out ſomething to faſten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly conſult ſeveral very able perſons; and even ſome, who afterwards appeared againſt you: to which I can only anſwer; that you muſt either change your adviſers, or determine to print nothing that comes from a drapier.

I deſire you will ſend the incloſed letter directed to my Lord Viſcount Moleſworth, at his houſe at Brackdenſtown, near Swords; but I would have it ſent printed for the convenience of his Lordſhip's reading; becauſe this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publiſh it, I would have you firſt get it read over by ſome notable lawyer: I am aſſured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the drapier, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expences. For although I have taken ſo much care, that I think it impoſſible to find a topic out of the following papers for ſending you again to priſon, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

THIS

THIS enſuing letter contains only a ſhort account of myſelf, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, eſpecially the laſt; with little mention of Mr Wood, or his half-pence; becauſe I have already ſaid enough upon that ſubject, until occaſion ſhall be given for new fears: and, in that caſe, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am

your friend

From my ſhop in and ſervant,
St. Francis-ſtreet,
Dec. 14. 1724. M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourſe between you and me, which I never will ſuffer *, your people are apt to make very groſs errors in the preſs, which I deſire you will provide againſt.

* The copies were always ſent to the preſs by ſome obſcure meſſenger, who never knew the perſon from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuenſis only was truſted, to whom about two years after the author gave an employment of 40 *l.* a year as a reward for his fidelity.
Dub. edit.

To the Right Honourable

The Lord Viscount Molesworth.

At his houſe at Brackdenſtown near Swords.

My Lord,

I Reflect too late on the maxim of common obſervers, that thoſe, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reaſon to repent: which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myſelf the diſpleaſure of the government, ſignified by a proclamation promiſing a reward of three hundred pounds to the firſt faithful ſubject, who ſhall be able and inclined to inform againſt me; to which I may add, the laudable zeal and induſtry of my Lord Chief-juſtice Whitſhed in his endeavours to diſcover ſo dangerous a perſon. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cauſe to do ſo; and the common obſervation ſtill ſtands good.

It will ſometimes happen, I know not how, in the courſe of human affairs, that a man ſhall be made liable to legal animadverſions, where he hath nothing to anſwer for either to God or his country: and condemned at Weſtminſter-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the day of judgment.

After ſtrictly examining my own heart, and conſulting ſome divines of great reputation, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any * "malice or wickedneſs againſt the public:" of any "deſigns to ſow ſedition;" of "reflecting on the King and his miniſters;" or of "endeavouring "to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from thoſe of England." All I can charge myſelf with, is a weak attempt to ſerve a nation in danger of deſtruction by a moſt wicked and malicious projector, without waiting

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burden upon my conscience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a *judge*, who upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *premunire* for *appealing to a foreign jurisdiction*: and of another in Wales, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison: because *comparisons were odious*.

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your Lordship's pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free-school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the latin tongue. I served my apprenticeship in London, and there set up for myself with good success; until by the death of some friends, and misfortunes of others, I returned into this kingdom; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the woollen manufacture thro' all its branches; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs; and even some of the weaving trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as absurd and unnatural. I remember your Lordship at that time did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you * a piece of *black and white stuff* just sent from the *dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my customer for.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in *common goods*, like the rest of my brethren; until it happened some months ago, considering with myself, that the "lower and "poorer sort of people *wanted* a plain, strong, coarse stuff

* By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of* Irish *manufactures*.

"to defend them againſt cold *eaſterly* winds, which then "blew very fierce and blaſting for a long time together;" I contrived one on purpoſe, which ſold very well all over the kingdom, and preſerved many thouſands from *agues*. I then made a **ſecond* and a *third* kind of *ſtuffs* for the *gentry*, with the ſame ſucceſs; inſomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for ſome time.

THIS incited me ſo far, that I ventured upon a † *fourth* piece made of the beſt Iriſh wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the beſt *lord* or *judge* of the land. But, of late, ſome *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *ſhuddering in their limbs*, and have thrown it off in a rage; curſing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented it: ſo that I am determined never to work for perſons of quality again; except for your Lordſhip and a very few more.

I aſſure your Lordſhip upon the word of an honeſt citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. Wood's half-pence, with the ſale of all the ſeveral *ſtuffs* I have contrived; for I give the whole profit to the *dyers* and *preſſers* ‡. And therefore I hope you will pleaſe to believe, that no other motive, beſides the love of my country, could engage me to buſy my head and hands to the loſs of my time, and the gain of nothing but vexation and ill-will.

I have now in hand one *piece of ſtuff* to be woven on purpoſe for your Lordſhip; altho' I might be aſhamed to offer it to you, after I have confeſſed, that it will be made only from the ‖ *ſcraps and remnants of the wool employed in the former*. However I ſhall *work* it up as well as I can; and at worſt, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very ſenſible, how ill your Lordſhip is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a *drapier* in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, altho' very ſparingly, into an affair of ſtate? for ſuch is now grown the controverſy with

* The *drapier's* three firſt letters.

† The fourth letter, againſt which the proclamation was iſſued.

‡ Printers. ‖ Meaning the preſent letter.

with Mr Wood, if ſome great lawyers are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with farthings, and go on to gold, till ſome of them loſe their eſtates and die in jail; ſo it may poſſibly fall out in my caſe, that by playing too long with Mr Wood's half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a fine double to the reward for betraying me; be ſent to priſon, and not be delivered thence until I ſhall have paid the uttermoſt farthing.

THERE are, my Lord, three ſorts of perſons, with whom I am reſolved never to diſpute: a highway man with a piſtol at my breaſt; a troop of dragoons, who come to plunder my houſe; and a man of the law, who can make a merit of accuſing me. In each of theſe caſes, which are almoſt the ſame, the beſt method is to keep out of the way: and the next beſt is to deliver your money, ſurrender your houſe, and confeſs nothing.

I am told, that the two points in my laſt letter, from which an occaſion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords upon Mr Wood's patent; and where I diſcourſe upon Ireland's being a dependent kingdom. As to the former, I can only ſay, that I have treated it with the utmoſt reſpect and caution; and I thought it neceſſary to ſhew where Wood's patent differed in many eſſential parts from all others, that ever had been granted; becauſe the contrary had for want of due information been ſo ſtrongly and ſo largely aſſerted. As to the other, of Ireland's dependency; I confeſs to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to underſtand what it meant. This gave me the curioſity to inquire among ſeveral eminent lawyers, who profeſſed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the ſtatutes of both kingdoms without the leaſt information, further than an Iriſh act, that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one king. I cannot ſay, I was ſorry to be diſappointed in my ſearch, becauſe it is certain, I could be contented to depend only upon God, and my prince, and the laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations. But ſince my betters are of a different opinion, and deſire further dependencies, I ſhall outwardly ſubmit; yet ſtill inſiſting in my own heart upon the

exception I made of M. B. drapier. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle ſtory I had heard in England, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but becauſe it inſinuates neither treaſon nor ſedition, I will juſt barely relate it.

SOME hundred years ago, when the Peers were ſo great that the Commons were looked upon as little better than their dependents, a bill was brought in for making ſome new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drue, a member of the houſe ſtood up, and ſaid, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it paſs; but however, for ſome reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he deſired that a clauſe might be inſerted for "excepting the family of the "Drues." The oddneſs of the propoſition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

WHETHER I were miſtaken, or went too far in examining the dependency, muſt be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; altho' indeed not in ſo effectual and deciſive a manner. But to affirm, as I hear ſome do, in order to countenance a fearful and ſervile ſpirit, that this point did not belong to my ſubject, is a falſe and fooliſh objection. There were ſeveral ſcandalous reports induſtriouſly ſpread by Wood and his accomplices, to diſcourage all oppoſition againſt his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a rebellion; that we diſputed the King's prerogative, and were ſhaking off our dependency. The firſt went ſo far, and obtained ſo much belief againſt the moſt viſible demonſtrations to the contrary, that a great perſon of this kingdom, now in England, ſent over ſuch an account of it to his friends, as would make any good ſubject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore neceſſary to treat that calumny as it deſerved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to diſpute his Majeſty's prerogative; becauſe the prerogative was not concerned in the queſtion; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that copper is not money. And laſtly, to clear us from the imputation of ſhaking off our dependency, I ſhewed wherein I thought, and ſhall ever think, this dependency conſiſted; and cited the ſtatute above mentioned made in Ireland: by which

it

it is enacted, that "whoever is King of England, ſhall "be King of Ireland; and that the two kingdoms ſhall be "for ever knit together under one King." This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our dependency, becauſe it was altogether out of our power; for ſurely no king of England will ever conſent to the repeal of this ſtatute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accuſation. It is ſaid, "I went too far, when I declared, "that if ever the Pretender ſhould come to be fixed up-"on the throne of England (which God forbid) I would "ſo far venture to tranſgreſs this ſtatute, that I would "loſe the laſt drop of my blood, before I would ſubmit "to him as King of Ireland."

This I hear on all ſides is the ſtrongeſt and weightieſt objection againſt me; and which hath given the moſt offence, that I ſhould be ſo bold to declare againſt a direct ſtatute; and that any motive, how ſtrong ſoever, could make me reject a King whom England ſhould receive. Now, if in defending myſelf from this accuſation I ſhould freely confeſs, that I went too far; that the expreſſion was very indiſcreet, altho' occaſioned by my zeal for his preſent Majeſty, and his Proteſtant line in the houſe of Hanover; that I ſhall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgement and ſorrow for my error will be ſome atonement, and a little ſoften the hearts of my powerful adverſaries: I ſay, if I ſhould offer ſuch a defence as this, I do not doubt but ſome people would wreſt it to an ill meaning by a ſpiteful interpretation. And therefore, ſince I cannot think of any other anſwer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but ſtill without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your Lordſhip a ſecret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore pleaſe to know, that this habit of writing and diſcourſing, wherein I unfortunately differ from almoſt the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wiſh, was acquired during my apprenticeſhip in London, and a long reſidence there after I had ſet up for myſelf. Upon my return and ſettlement here, I thought I had only changed one country of freedom for

another;

another. I had been long converſing with the writings of your Lordſhip *, Mr Locke, Mr Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of "liberty "as a bleſſing, to which the whole race of mankind hath "an original title; whereof nothing but unlawful force "can diveſt them." I knew a great deal of the ſeveral Gothic inſtitutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be deſtroyed: and I ever thought it the moſt uncontrolled and univerſally agreed maxim, that "freedom conſiſts in a people's being governed by "laws made with their own conſent; and ſlavery in the "contrary." I have been likewiſe told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known uſe and ſignification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to underſtand, and have them often in their mouths. Theſe were the errors which have miſled me; and to which alone I muſt impute the ſevere treatment I have received. But I ſhall in time *grow wiſer*, and learn to conſider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to ſay; that the boldeſt and moſt obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in England have only expoſed me as a ſtupid fool, who went to prove that *the ſun ſhone in a clear ſummer's day:* and I have witneſſes ready to depoſe, that your Lordſhip hath ſaid and writ fifty times worſe; and, what is ſtill an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and ſtronger arguments: ſo that as politics run, I do not know a perſon of more exceptionable principles than yourſelf: and if ever I ſhall be diſcovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and ſupport me in priſon; or elſe I may chance to inform againſt you by way of repriſal.

IN the mean time I beg your Lordſhip to receive my confeſſion; that if there be any ſuch thing as a dependency of Ireland upon England, otherwiſe than as I have explained it, either by the law of God, of nature, of reaſon, of nations, or of the land, (which I ſhall die rather than grant) then was the proclamation againſt me the moſt merciful that ever was put out; and inſtead of accuſing

* He publiſhed a book in the reign of King William III. intitled, *The ſtate of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Hawkeſ*

cuſing me as malicious, wicked, and ſeditious, it might have been directly as guilty of high treaſon.

ALL I deſire is, that the cauſe of my country againſt Mr Wood may not ſuffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the King, and the law; I hope no man will aſſert, that it depends upon Mr Wood. I ſhould be heartily ſorry that this commendable ſpirit againſt me ſhould accidentally (and what, I hope, was never intended) ſtrike a damp upon that ſpirit in all ranks and corporations of men againſt the deſperate and ruinous deſign of Mr Wood. Let my countrymen blot out thoſe parts in my laſt letter, which they diſlike; and let no *ruſt* remain on my *ſword* to cure the wounds I have given to our moſt mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where ſeveral things were to be *renounced*, he ſaid, he loved *renouncing*; aſked if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleaſed. Altho' I am not ſo thorough a *renouncer*, yet let me have but good city ſecurity againſt this peſtilent coinage, and I ſhall be ready not only to *renounce* every ſyllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully with my own hands into thoſe of the common hangman, to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath eſcaped out of the ſecular hands of my faithful friends, the common people.

BUT, whatever the ſentiments of ſome people may be, I think it is agreed that many of thoſe who ſubſcribed againſt me, are on the ſide of a vaſt majority in the kingdom, who oppoſed Mr Wood*: and it was with great ſatisfaction,

* As the Drapier's Letters were written expreſsly againſt Wood's half-pence, it might well be imagined that a proclamation againſt the author would produce an opinion, that to oppoſe Wood's half-pence was illegal, and ſubjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent ſo fatal a miſtake, it is here remarked, that many of thoſe, who ſubſcribed the proclamation, were yet ſtrenuous oppoſers of Wood's project. This diſtinction is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which was written ſoon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, tho' for ſome reaſons deferred.—See the letter to Lord Middleton and the note prefixed. *Hawkeſ.*

ſatisfaction, that I obſerved ſome *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *ſtrong declaration* againſt him and his coin. But if the admiſſion of it among us be already determined, the *worthy* perſon, who is to *betray* me, ought in prudence to do it with all convenient ſpeed; or elſe it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds ſterling for the diſcharge of his hire, when the public ſhall have loſt five hundred thouſand, if there be ſo much in the nation; beſides four fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight, which of them gave the firſt provocation, or ſtruck the firſt blow. It is manifeſt that Mr Wood hath done both: and therefore I ſhould humbly propoſe to have him firſt *hanged*, and his *droſs* thrown into the ſea: after which the drapier will be ready to ſtand his trial. "It muſt needs be that offences come, but woe unto him by whom the offence cometh." If Mr Wood had held his *hand*, every body elſe would have held their *tongues*: and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occaſion. The provocation muſt needs have been very great, which could ſtir up an obſcure, indolent *draper* to become an *author*. One would almoſt think, the very *ſtones* in the ſtreet would *riſe* up in ſuch a cauſe: and I am not ſure they will not *do ſo* againſt Mr Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known ſtory of the dumb boy, whoſe tongue forced a paſſage for ſpeech by the horror of ſeeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may leſſen the wonder, that a tradeſman hid in privacy and ſilence ſhould *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by ſo infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr Wood, the deſtroyer of a kingdom, walks about in triumph (unleſs it be true, that he is in jail for debt); while he who endeavoured to aſſert the liberty of his country is forced to hide his head for occaſionally dealing in a matter of controverſy. However, I am not the firſt, who hath been condemned to death for gaining a great victory over a powerful enemy, by diſobeying for *once* the ſtrict orders of military diſcipline.

I am now reſolved to follow (after the uſual proceeding of mankind, becauſe it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean* *. He ſhewed the miſtake I was in, of truſting to the general good-will of the people; that I had ſucceeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that ſome unfortunate *circumſtantial lapſe* would probably bring me within the reach of power: that my good intentions would be no ſecurity againſt *thoſe, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterneſs of my ſoul.* He produced an inſtance of a perſon as innocent, as diſintereſted, and as well meaning as myſelf; who had written † a very ſeaſonable and inoffenſive treatiſe, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which, however the printer was proſecuted with the utmoſt virulence; the jury ſent back nine times; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The Dean further obſerved, that I was in a manner left alone to ſtand the battle; while others, who had ten thouſand times better talents than a drapier, were ſo prudent as to lie ſtill; and perhaps thought it no unpleaſant amuſement to look on with ſafety, while another was giving them diverſion at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a ſufficient recompence by a little applauſe: whereupon he concluded with a ſhort ſtory of a Jew at Madrid; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of ſchool-boys following him to the ſtake, and apprehending they might loſe their ſport if he ſhould happen to recant, would often clap him on the back, and cry, *Sta firme Moyſe* (Moſes *continue ſtead faſt*).

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his obſervations juſt; and in one reſpect my condition is worſe than that of the Jew: for no recantation will ſave me. However, it ſhould ſeem by ſome late proceedings, that my ſtate is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the ſteadineſs of two impartial grand-juries; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained; that, as philoſophers ſay, virtue is

* The author is ſuppoſed to mean himſelf.

† The author means himſelf again; in the diſcourſe adviſing the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

is ſeated in the middle; ſo in another ſenſe, the little virtue left in the world is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by ambition, nor driven by poverty.

SINCE the proclamation occaſioned by my laſt letter, and a due preparation for proceeding againſt me in a court of juſtice, there have been two printed papers clandeſtinely ſpread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by conjecture; which, with its uſual charity, lays them to my account. The former is intitled, *ſeaſonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand jury, upon the ſuppoſition of a bill to be prepared againſt that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry reſolution of the houſe of commons in England againſt diſſolving grand-juries. As to the former, your Lordſhip will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common drapier. It hath been cenſured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiaſſed; and for that reaſon it is manifeſt, that no judge was ever known, either upon or off the bench, either by himſelf or his dependents, to uſe the leaſt inſinuation, that might poſſibly affect the paſſions or intereſts of any one ſingle juryman, much leſs of a whole jury; whereof every man muſt be convinced, who will juſt give himſelf the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: ſo as it is amazing to think, what a number of upright judges there have been in both kingdoms for above ſixty years paſt; which, conſidering how long they held their offices during pleaſure, as they ſtill do among us *, I account next to a miracle.

As to the other paper, I muſt confeſs it is a ſharp cenſure from an Engliſh houſe of commons againſt diſſolving grand-juries by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters are under their conſideration and not preſented, as arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to

* Perhaps this may account for Whitſhed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *propoſal for the ſale uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*, and ſuperadded to the *ſeaſonable advice to the grand-jury*, both in this volume.

to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and as a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publiſher ſeems to have been miſtaken in what he aimed at. For whatever *dependence* there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not inſinuate that the proceedings of a *Lord Chief-Juſtice* in Ireland muſt *depend* upon a *reſolution* of an Engliſh houſe of Commons. Beſides that *reſolution*, although it were levelled againſt a particular Lord Chief-Juſtice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occaſion was directly contrary. For Scroggs diſſolved the grand-jury of London for fear they *ſhould* preſent; but ours in Dublin was *diſſolved*, becauſe they would *not* preſent; which wonderfully alters the caſe. And therefore a ſecond grand-jury ſupplied that defect by making a preſentment † that pleaſed the whole kingdom. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other jury behaved themſelves in ſuch a manner, as ought to be remembred to their honour, while there ſhall be any regard left among us for *virtue* or *public ſpirit*.

I am confident, your Lordſhip will be of my ſentiments in one thing; that ſome ſhort plain authentic tract might be publiſhed for the information both of petty and grand-juries, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of ſuch a treatiſe might be depoſited in every court to be conſulted by the jurymen, before they conſider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable inſtances might be produced from former times; becauſe I will ſay nothing of the preſent.

I have read ſomewhere of an *eaſtern* king, who put a judge to death for an iniquitous ſentence, and ordered his *hide to be ſtuffed into a cuſhion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the ſon to ſit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, ſuch a *memorial* might not have been unuſeful to a ſon of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his ſucceſſors would often *wriggle* in their ſeats, as long as the *cuſhion* laſted: I wiſh the relator

I had

† See *the preſentment* immediately preceeding this letter.

had told us what number of ſuch *cuſhions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but obſerve to your Lordſhip, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private perſon to inform the people, even in an affair, where the public intereſt and ſafety are ſo highly concerned, as that of Mr Wood; and this in a country, where loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people, ſeems a little extraordinary. Sir Willam Scroggs was the firſt, who introduced that commendable acuteneſs into the courts of judicature; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his ſucceſſors, or *ſtrained upon occaſion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets unpleaſing to the miniſtry were preſented as libels, he would order the offenſive paragraphs to be read before him; and ſaid it was ſtrange, that the judges and lawyers of the King's bench ſhould be duller than all the people of England: and he was often ſo very happy in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding dubious hints, (the two common expedients among writters of that claſs for eſcaping the law) that he diſcovered much more than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers found to their coſt. If ſuch methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the ſubject of Mr Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my underſtanding and caution to avoid being entrapped: unleſs he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever a drying upon his lines; or venture to publiſh them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordſhip where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the King and the laws permit us to refuſe this coin of Mr Wood; but at the ſame time it is equally true, that the King and the laws permit us to receive it. Now, it is barely poſſible, that the miniſters in England may not ſuppoſe the conſequences of uttering that braſs among us to be ſo ruinous as we apprehend; becauſe perhaps, if they underſtood it in that light, they would in common humanity uſe their credit with his Majeſty

jeſty for ſaving a moſt loyal kingdom from deſtruction: but as long as it ſhall pleaſe thoſe great perſons to think that coin will not be ſo very pernicious to us, we lie under the diſadvantage of being cenſured as obſtinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make uſe of that liberty, which the King and the laws have left us, by continuing to refuſe this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt it, which otherwiſe may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to ſink altogether. For, any public order againſt receiving or uttering Mr Wood's half-pence is not reaſonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from England; which I think no body preſumes, or is ſo ſanguine to hope.

But to confeſs the truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wiſh it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *ſongs* and *ballads*, who perhaps are the beſt qualified at preſent to gather up the gleanings of this controverſy. As to myſelf, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and purſue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falſehoods of this vile impoſtor Wood in every part, I fooliſhly *diſdained* to have recourſe to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather choſe to appeal to law and liberty, and the common rights of mankind, without conſidering the *climate* I was in.

Since your laſt reſidence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myſelf to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradeſman did not qualify me to wait on you at your houſe; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have eſcaped ſeverer cenſures. But I have lately ſold my nag, and honeſtly told his greateſt fault, which was that of ſnuffing up the air about Brackdenſtown; whereby he became ſuch a lover of liberty, that I could ſcarce hold him in. I have likewiſe buried at the bottom of a ſtrong cheſt your Lordſhip's writings under a heap of others, that treat of liberty; and ſpread over a layer or two of Hobbs, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that ſtamp, to be readieſt at hand, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to take up a new ſet of principles in government. In the mean time I deſign

quietly to look to my ſhop, and keep as far out of your Lordſhip's influence as poſſible: and if you ever ſee any more of my writings on this ſubject, I promiſe you ſhall find them as innocent, as inſipid and without a ſting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your Lordſhip will pleaſe to give me an eaſy leaſe of ſome part of your eſtate in Yorkſhire, thither will I carry my cheſt: and turning it upſide down, reſume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honeſt Engliſh farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr Wood: my moſt loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe ſo much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to ſerve them. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient

and moſt humble ſervant,

M. B.

From my ſhop in
St. Francis-ſtreet,
Dec. 14. 1724.

A LET-

Theſe papers (for the ſixth and ſeventh letters were not publiſhed till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithſtanding threats, proſecutions, and impriſonment, againſt all the influence of power and all the artifices of cunning: perſons of every rank and every ſect united with the draper in the common cauſe, his health was a perpetual toaſt, and his effigies were diſplayed in every ſtreet; Wood was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally ſuppreſſed.

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON*.

Written in the year 1724.

[BY many paſſages in the following letter, and by the date Oct. 6. 1724, it appears to have been written ſoon after the proclamation againſt the drapier for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this criſis perhaps the dean did not chuſe to reſume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was ſigned with his name, tho' it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for ſome reaſon the publication of it was delayed, and it was firſt printed in an edition of the dean's works publiſhed at Dublin in 1735. This however is not the only reaſon why it is placed after the fifth letter, for the fifth letter appears to have been ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the *laſt*, which could not have happened if both had been parts of the ſame ſeries.

The reader will now eaſily account for thoſe paſſages in the ſixth, by which the proſecution againſt Harding appears to be depending, tho' in the fifth it is mentioned as paſt.]

My LORD,

I Deſire you will conſider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who ſpeaks to a cauſe, when the matter hath been almoſt exhauſted by thoſe who ſpoke before.

I remember ſome months ago I was at your houſe upon a commiſſion, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not ſo much on account of the commiſſion, as to aſk you ſome queſtions concerning Mr Wood's patent to coin half-pence for Ireland; where you very freely

* He ſigned the proclamation againſt the drapier, *Hawkeſ.*

ly told me in a mixt company, how much you had been always againſt that wicked project* ; which raiſed in me an eſteem for you ſo far, that I went in a few days to make you a viſit after many years intermiſſion. I am likewiſe told, that your ſon wrote two letters from London (one of which I have ſeen) empowering thoſe, to whom they were directed, to aſſure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report ſpread of his engaging himſelf to Mr Walpole for forty thouſand pounds of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the ſaid report was falſe and groundleſs; and he had never diſcourſed with that miniſter on this ſubject, nor would ever give his conſent to have one farthing of the ſaid coin current here. And altho' it be long ſince I have given myſelf the trouble of converſing with people of titles or ſtations; yet I have been told by thoſe, who can take up with ſuch amuſements, that there is not a conſiderable perſon of the kingdom ſcrupulous in any ſort to declare his opinion. But all this is needleſs to alledge, when we conſider, that the ruinous conſequences of Wood's patent have been ſo ſtrongly repreſented by both houſes of parliament; by the privy-council; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin; by ſo many corporations; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in moſt counties at their quarter-ſeſſions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of theſe halfpence would in the univerſal opinion of our people be utterly deſtructive to this kingdom; and conſequently that it is every man's duty not only to refuſe this coin himſelf, but, as far as in him lies, to perſuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print, is all a caſe; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to diſcourſe upon religious or moral ſubjects, altho' he may not do it in a pulpit (at leaſt in our church.) Neither is this an affair of ſtate, until authority ſhall think fit to declare it ſo: or if you ſhould underſtand it in that ſenſe, yet you will pleaſe to conſider, that I am not now preaching.

THEREFORE

* Lord Middleton, tho' he ſigned the proclamation againſt the draper, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by ſeveral paſſages in this letter. *Hawkeſ.*

THEREFORE I do think it my duty, ſince the drapier will probably be no more heard of, ſo far to ſupply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learned from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preſerving both thoſe characters, I may be allowed by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones to refreſh the memory of my fellow-ſubjects, and keep up that good ſpirit raiſed among them to preſerve themſelves from utter ruin by lawful means, and ſuch as are permitted by his Majeſty.

I believe you will pleaſe to allow me two propoſitions: firſt, that we are a moſt loyal people; and ſecondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a ſubject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in diſcourſe differ much in the preſence of Lord Wharton about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to Ireland. But if you will not allow us to be a free people; there is only another appellation left, which I doubt my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed would call me to account for, if I venture to beſtow: for I obſerved (and I ſhall never forget upon what occaſion) the device upon his coach to be *libertas et natale ſolum*, at the very point of time when he was fitting in his court, and perjuring himſelf to betray both*.

Now, as for our loyalty to his preſent Majeſty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am ſure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident he hath not a miniſter in England, who could ever call it once in queſtion; but that ſome hard rumours at leaſt have been tranſmitted from t'other ſide the water, I ſuppoſe you will not doubt: and rumours of the ſevereſt kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr Wood and his emiſſaries: as if he endeavoured it ſhould be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the teſt of refuſing or taking his copper. Now, as I am ſure you will admit us to be a loyal people; ſo you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from ſo gracious a King,

* See *the addreſs to both houſes of parliament*, by M. B. *drapier*.

King, that a loyal and free people can expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that Wood's half-pence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we ſhall continue to *wiſh*, when we dare no longer expreſs our wiſhes; altho' there were no ſuch mortal as a drapier in the world.

I am heartily ſorry, that any writer ſhould in a cauſe ſo generally approved give occaſion to the government and council to charge him with * "paragraphs highly "reflecting upon his Majeſty and his miniſters; tending "to alienate the affections of his good ſubjects in En- "gland and Ireland from each other; and to promote ſe- "dition among the people." I muſt confeſs, that with many others I thought he meant well; altho' he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expreſſing himſelf.

However, ſince the drapier is but one man, I ſhall think I do a public ſervice by aſſerting, that the reſt of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of his pamphlets to reflect on the King or his miniſters, and to breed ſedition.

I ſolemnly declare, that I never once heard the leaſt reflection caſt upon the King on the ſubject of Mr Wood's coin: for in many diſcourſes on this matter, I do not remember his Majeſty's name to be ſo much as mentioned. As to the miniſtry in England, the only two perſons hinted at were the Duke of Grafton and Mr Walpole: the former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared, that he never ſaw the patent in favour of Mr Wood, before it was paſſed, altho' he was then Lord Lieutenant: and therefore I ſuppoſe every body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever ſince.

Mr Walpole was indeed ſuppoſed to be underſtood by the letter W. in ſeveral news papers; where it is ſaid that ſome expreſſions fell from him not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to anſwer, any more than for the diſcretion of the publiſhers. You obſerve, the drapier wholly clears Mr Walpole of this charge by very ſtrong arguments;

* In the drapier's 4th letter.

ments; and ſpeaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myſelf to have been often preſent, where the company gave their opinion that Mr Walpole favoured Mr Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and, for my own part, never once opened my lips againſt that miniſter, either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reaſon for this reſervedneſs was, becauſe it pleaſed him in the *Queen*'s time, (I mean Queen Anne of ever bleſſed memory) to make a ſpeech directly againſt me by name in the houſe of Commons, as I was told a very few minutes after in the court of *requeſts* by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great ſtation here, (if any thing here may be called great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is underſtood by public voice to be chief miniſter, will among the general talkers ſhare the blame, whether juſtly or no, of every thing that is diſliked; which I could eaſily make appear in many inſtances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the caſe of the * greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt miniſter I ever converſed with.

But, whatever unpleaſing opinion ſome people might conceive of Mr Walpole, on account of thoſe half-pence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr Wood. Many perſons of credit come from England have affirmed to me and others, that they have ſeen letters under his hand full of arrogance and inſolence towards Ireland, and boaſting of his favour with Mr Walpole; which is highly probable; becauſe he reaſonably thought it for his intereſt to ſpread ſuch a report, and becauſe it is the known talent of low and little ſpirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have ſufficiently juſtified the people of Ireland from learning any bad leſſon out of the drapier's pamphlets with regard to his Majeſty and his miniſters: and therefore, if thoſe papers were intended to ſow ſedition among us, God be thanked the ſeeds have fallen upon a very improper ſoil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the drapier,

* *Suppoſed to be the Lord Treaſurer* Oxford.

[illegible] his intentions were, hath left that matter [illegible] it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myself to be as well [illegible] in the dispositions of each people [illegible]. By the people I understand here, only the [illegible] common people; and I desire no [illegible] or extend my meaning.

[illegible] and parsimony, that runs [illegible] England, which added to the [illegible] makes them rich and sturdy. As [illegible] more of it than they do of [illegible] it is a country subject to the [illegible] inhabited by wild Irish [illegible] by mercenary troops sent [illegible] general opinion is, that it were [illegible] this whole island were sunk into [illegible] that every forty years [illegible] in Ireland. I have seen the [illegible] upon them: that the *wild* Irish [illegible] but that in some time they would [illegible] out of your hands: I have been [illegible] particularly by my neighbours [illegible] whether I had come from [illegible] the arrival of an Irishman to [illegible] I have known crowds coming about him, [illegible] him look so much better than [illegible].

A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that passing some [illegible] Northampton, and finding the whole [illegible] with bells, bonefires, and illumina- [illegible] the cause, he was told, it was for [illegible] submitted to receive Wood's half- [illegible] This, I think, plainly shews what sentiments [illegible] hath of us: and how little they made it [illegible] they lie directly in our way to [illegible] cannot but be frequently con- [illegible] human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either [illegible] who are as inconsiderable in point of [illegible] as the women and children; or of English [illegible] who love their brethren of that kingdom, al-

tho'

tho' they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs, I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence, how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from England have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to England upon the ſame deſign?

My ſecond propoſition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I ſuppoſe, you will allow, at leaſt with certain limitations remaining in your own breaſt. However, I am ſure it is not criminal to affirm; becauſe the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the ſubject, are often mentioned in both houſes of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it muſt follow that the people of Ireland do, or ought to enjoy all the benefits of the common and ſtatute law; ſuch as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own conſent as repreſented in parliament, and the like. If this be ſo, and if it be univerſally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and ſilver; I do not ſee why any man ſhould be hindered from cautioning his countrymen againſt this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have ſecured. If I am miſtaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the drapier's caſe in another light, by ſuppoſing, that a perſon going into his ſhop ſhould agree for thirty ſhillings worth of goods, and force the ſeller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces intrinſically not worth above a crown: I deſire to know whether the drapier would not be actually robbed of five and twenty ſhillings; and how far he could be ſaid to be maſter of his property? The ſame queſtion may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatſoever.

Give me leave to do what the drapier hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it ſtands in the view of the world.

One William Wood Eſq; and hard-ware-man obtains by

pier, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter juſt as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myſelf to be as well informed as moſt men in the diſpoſitions of each people towards the other. By the people I underſtand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I deſire no lawyer may diſtort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of induſtry and parſimony, that runs thro' the whole people of England, which added to the eaſineſs of their rents makes them rich and ſturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country ſubject to the King of England, full of boggs, inhabited by wild Iriſh *papiſts*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops ſent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole iſland were ſunk into the ſea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there muſt be a rebellion in Ireland. I have ſeen the groſſeſt ſuppoſitions paſs upon them: that the *wild* Iriſh were taken in toyls; but that in ſome time they would grow ſo tame, as to eat out of your hands: I have been aſked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Peppershara, whether I had come from Ireland by ſea: and upon the arrival of an Iriſhman to a country town, I have known crowds coming about him, and wondering to ſee him look ſo much better than themſelves.

A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that paſſing ſome months ago thro' Northampton, and finding the whole town in a lurry, with bells, bonefires, and illuminations; upon aſking the cauſe, he was told, it was for joy, that the Iriſh had ſubmitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This, I think, plainly ſhews what ſentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own caſe; altho' they lie directly in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human ſhapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they conſiſt either of Iriſh *papiſts*, who are as inconſiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of Engliſh *proteſtants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, altho'

tho' they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs, I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence, how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from England have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to England upon the ſame deſign?

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Give me leave to do what the drapier hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it ſtands in the view of the world.

One William Wood Eſq; and hard-ware-man obtains by

by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000 *l.* in copper to paſs in Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or to refuſe. The people here, in all ſorts of bodies and repreſentatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to juſtify theſe declarations they generally offer two reaſons; firſt, becauſe by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice; and ſecondly, becauſe they are not obliged by law: ſo that you ſee there is *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one ſide, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr Wood gets the victory at the expence of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thouſand pounds (I mean by continuing and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himſelf; I doubt, both preſent and future ages will at leaſt think it a very ſingular ſcheme.

If this fact be truly ſtated, I muſt confeſs, I look upon it as my duty, ſo far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-ſubjects, as they value their King, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no not ſo much as one ſingle half-penny. For if one ſingle thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I ſhall be thus employed, I will never give myſelf leave to ſuppoſe that what I ſay can either offend my * Lord Lieutenant, whoſe perſon and great qualities I have always highly reſpected (as I am ſure his Excellency will be my witneſs) or the miniſters in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much leſs the privy-council here; who, as I am informed, did ſend an addreſs to his Majeſty againſt Mr Wood's coin; which if it be a miſtake, I deſire I may not be accuſed for a ſpreader of falſe news: but I confeſs, I am ſo great a ſtranger to affairs, that for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may ſince have been changed: and altho' I obſerved ſome of the very ſame names in a late declaration againſt that coin, which I ſaw ſubſcribed to the proclamation againſt the drapier, yet poſſibly they may

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

may be different perſons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue ſo.

In this controverſy, where the reaſoners on each ſide are divided by St. George's channel, his Majeſty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr Wood and his advocates had not made it neceſſary by giving out, that the currency of his coin ſhould be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuſe this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it moſt dreadful apprehenſions. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for the drapier to remove this difficulty; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the King's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; ſince the law had ſufficiently provided againſt any coin to be impoſed on the ſubject, except gold and ſilver; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the drapier having not received any public cenſure, I look upon them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt this deſtructive coin of Mr Wood: as for this laſt letter, againſt which a proclamation is iſſued; I ſhall only ſay, that I could wiſh it were ſtripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal; but being naturally ſomewhat ſlow of comprehenſion, no lawyer, and apt to believe the beſt of thoſe, who profeſs good deſigns without any viſible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without diſtinguiſhing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greateſt offence in this laſt letter * is, where the drapier affirms, that if a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, he would venture ſo far to tranſgreſs the Iriſh ſtatute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to loſe every drop of his blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland.

* Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

I ſhall not preſume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would tranſgreſs a ſtatute; and a ſtatute of ſuch importance: but with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion and deſire of pardon for a very innocent miſtake, I ſhould be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at leaſt ſome ſmall extenuation of his crime; for, in this I confeſs myſelf to think with the drapier.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections againſt that pamphlet; but I ſuppoſe, they will all appear at the proſecution of the drapier. And I think, whoever in his own conſcience believes the ſaid pamphlet to be "wicked and malicious, ſeditious and ſcandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majeſty and his miniſters, &c." would do well to diſcover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) altho' the reward of 300 *l.* had not been tacked to the diſcovery. I own, it would be a great ſatisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this caſe. Becauſe you cannot but know, there often happens occaſions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be informed how they ought to conduct themſelves; and therefore it hath been the wiſdom of the Engliſh parliaments to be very reſerved in limiting the preſs. When a bill is debating in either houſe of parliament there, nothing is more uſual, than to have the controverſy handled by pamphlets on both ſides, without the leaſt animadverſion upon the authors.

So here, in the caſe of Mr Wood and his coin; ſince the two houſes gave their opinion by addreſſes, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all queſtion both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the ſenſe to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular perſons, to whom God hath given zeal and underſtanding ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking. Thus it happened in the caſe of that deſtructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of ſome without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now

Now, I ſhould be heartily glad, if ſome able lawyers would preſcribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters: becauſe a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet ſtander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public errror prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath ſome ſhare in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in ſome degree every ſuch man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wiſh to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer ſo much as to mention the prerogative; at leaſt ſo far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatſoever: I know it is often debated in Weſtminſter-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that ſubject in their books.

SECONDLY, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the ſubject, which is not ſterling; ſuch as lead, braſs, copper, mixt metal, ſhells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown ſhall think fit?

THIRDLY, What is really and truly meant by that phraſe of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that *dependency* conſiſteth?

LASTLY, In what points relating to *liberty* and *property* the people of Ireland differ, or at leaſt *ought* to differ, from thoſe of England.

IF theſe particulars were made ſo clear, that none could miſtake them, it would be of infinite eaſe and uſe to the kingdom; and either prevent or ſilence all diſcontents.

MY Lord Sommers, the greateſt man I ever knew of your robe, and whoſe thoughts of Ireland differed as far as heaven and earth, from thoſe of ſome others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown or the privileges of parliament ſhould ever be liable to diſpute in any ſingle branch of either; by which means, he ſaid, the public often ſuffered great inconveniencies, whereof he gave me ſeveral inſtances. I produce the authority of ſo eminent a perſon to juſtify my deſires, that ſome high points might be cleared.

FOR want of ſuch known aſcertainment how far a wri-

ter may proceed in expreſſing his good wiſhes for his country, a perſon of the moſt innocent intentions may poſſibly by the oratory and comments of lawyers be charged with many crimes, which from his very ſoul he abhors; and conſequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in ſome ſtinking jail, merely for miſtaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my life-time a printer proſecuted and convicted for publiſhing a * pamphlet, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as thoſe of a martyr at his laſt prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inſpection upon the ſubject of Mr Wood's coin; and altho' I never heard that my ſermon gave the leaſt offence, as I am ſure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and publiſhed, I cannot ſay, I would inſure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own perſon from thoſe of a meſſenger.

I have heard the late Chief Juſtice Holt affirm, that in all criminal caſes the moſt favourable interpretation ſhould be put upon words that they can poſſibly bear. You meet the ſame poſition aſſerted in many trials for the greateſt crimes; tho' often very ill practiſed by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave in the old and true ſignification imported only a ſervant; and villain in latin is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a baily.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a ſtandard maxim for all times and circumſtances, any writer with a very ſmall meaſure of diſcretion might eaſily be ſafe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at leaſt before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a paſſage of ſignor Leti an Italian; who being in London, buſying himſelf with writing

* *Suppoſed to be*, A propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures, *written by the author*.

ting the hiſtory of England, told King Charles II. that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impoſſible, altho' he ſhould have been as wiſe as Solomon. The King anſwered, that, if this were the caſe, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public neceſſity of writing; neither would England have been one half-penny the better or the worſe, whether he writ or no.

THIS I mention, becauſe I know it will readily be objected; what have private men to do with the public? what call had a drapier to turn politician, to meddle in matters of ſtate? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his ſhop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations, and proſecutions. Have we not able magiſtrates and counſellors hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addreſſes from both houſes of Parliament againſt Mr Wood's half-pence failed of ſucceſs, if ſome pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refuſing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and inſolence of the coiner, and to lay open the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the ſaid coin, I might appeal to many hundred thouſand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or ſagacity to refuſe it.

IF this copper ſhould begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they, who give us the greateſt apprehenſion, being eaſily frighted, and greedy to ſwallow miſ-informations: for, if every man were wiſe enough to underſtand his own intereſt, which is every man's principal ſtudy, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occaſion: but as things ſtand, I have thought it abſolutely neceſſary, from my duty to God, my King, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately iſſued againſt the drapier doth not in the leaſt affect the caſe of Mr Wood and his coin; but only refers to certain para-

graphs in the drapier's laſt pamphlet †, (not immediately relating to his ſubject, nor at all to the merits of the cauſe) which the government was pleaſed to diſlike; ſo that any man has the ſame liberty to reject, to write, and to declare againſt this coin, which he had before; neither is any man obliged to believe, that thoſe honourable perſons (whereof you are the firſt), who ſigned that memorable proclamation againſt the drapier, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr Wood, or his coin.

THEREFORE concluding myſelf to be thus far upon a ſafe and ſure foot, I ſhall continue upon any proper occaſion, as God enables me, to revive and preſerve that ſpirit raiſed in the nation (whether the real author were a real drapier or no is little to the purpoſe) againſt this horrid deſign of Mr Wood; at the ſame time carefully watching every ſtroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public cenſure of the world as a writer, not of my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed as a criminal. Whenever an order ſhall come out by authority, forbidding all men upon the higheſt penalties to offer any thing in writing or diſcourſe againſt Mr Wood's half-pence, I ſhall certainly ſubmit. However, if that ſhould happen, I am determined to be ſomewhat more than the laſt man in the kingdom to receive them; becauſe I will never receive them at all: for altho' I know how to be ſilent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience againſt my conſcience, and the public ſafety.

I deſire to put a caſe, which I think the drapier in ſome of his books hath put before me; altho' not ſo fully as it requires.

You know the copper half-pence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now ſuppoſe, that, inſtead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to ſome private, obſcure perſon for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr Wood is preparing in this; and all of it at leaſt five times below the intrinſic value: the current money of England is reckoned

† The 4th letter.

ed to be twenty millions; and ours under *five hundred thouſand pounds: by this computation, as Mr Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; ſo the patentee in England, by the ſame proportion might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; beſides as much more by ſtealth and counterfeits. I deſire to know from you, whether the Parliament might not have addreſſed upon ſuch an occaſion; what ſucceſs they probably would have had; and how many drapiers would have riſen to peſter the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be ſo great a ſufferer as ours in the like caſe; becauſe their caſh would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the cheſts of cautious, thrifty men until better times. Then I deſire for the ſatisfaction of the public, that you will pleaſe to inform me, why this country is treated in ſo very different a manner in a point of ſuch high importance; whether it be on account of Poining's act; of ſubordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I ſhall not conteſt, but am too dull to underſtand.

I am very ſenſible, that the good or ill ſucceſs of Mr Wood will affect you leſs than any perſon of conſequence in the kingdom; becauſe I hear you are ſo prudent as to make all your purchaſes in England; and truly ſo would I, if I had money, altho' I were to pay a hundred years purchaſe; becauſe I ſhould be glad to poſſeſs a free-hold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own conſent: and where I ſhould never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixt copper at the loſs of ſixteen ſhillings in the pound. You can live in eaſe and plenty at Pepperhara in Surry; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-ſpirited in you to be of the kingdom's ſide in this diſpute by ſhewing without reſerve your diſapprobation of Mr Wood's deſign; at leaſt if you have been ſo frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, conſidering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers, when

I

* It is ſince ſunk to 200,000 *l.*

I attempted to juſtify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the drapier's obſervation. If theſe half-pence ſhould once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long ſpace of time, what by the clandeſtine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and thoſe of others either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or ſilver viſible in the nation. This in my opinion would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a neceſſity of tranſmitting money from England to pay the ſalaries at leaſt of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for inſtance) could ſupport his dignity with a thouſand pounds a year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinſically be worth near two hundred. To argue that theſe half-pence, if no other coin were current, would anſwer the general ends of commerce among ourſelves, is a great miſtake, and the drapier hath made that matter too clear to admit an anſwer, by ſhewing us what every owner of land muſt be forced to do with the products of it in ſuch a diſtreſs. You may read his remarks at large in his ſecond or third letter; to which I refer you.

BEFORE I conclude, I cannot but obſerve, that for ſeveral months paſt there have more papers been written in this town, ſuch as they are, all upon the beſt public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in ſo ſhort a time: I ſpeak in general from the drapier down to the maker of *ballads*; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am aſſured by perſons of credit, that the beſt ballad upon Mr Wood will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * declares he never made the drapier any preſent, except one pair of ſciſſars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by oppoſing Mr Wood is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and

* The printer of the drapier's letters.

and learning would employ his pen upon ſo tranſitory a ſubject, and in ſo obſcure a corner of the world, to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author. So that I look upon myſelf, the drapier, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our ſeveral degrees.

ALL that the public can expect for the future is, only to be ſometimes warned to beware of Mr Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the drapier's reaſons. For a man of the moſt ſuperior underſtanding will find it impoſſible to make the beſt uſe of it, while he writes in conſtraint: perpetually ſoftening, correcting, or blotting out expreſſions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himſelf, under a proſecution from my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being ſoundly beaten by a weaver for letting a ſtone (which he always carried on his ſhoulder) fall upon a ſpaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the ſame ſpecies.

FOR theſe reaſons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and inſipid; but if it contributes in the leaſt to preſerve that union among us for oppoſing this fatal project of Mr Wood, my pains will not be altogether loſt.

I ſent theſe papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain), who after many alterations returned them back with aſſuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the leaſt mixture of treaſon, rebellion, ſedition, malice, diſaffection, reflection, or wicked inſinuation whatſoever.

IF the bell-man of each pariſh, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *paſt twelve o'clock: beware of* Wood's *half-pence*; it would probably cut off the occaſion for publiſhing any more pamphlets, provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as ſoon as it ſhall be determined, that it is not againſt law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority ſhall think fit to forbid all writings, or diſcourſes upon this ſubject, except ſuch as are in favour of Mr Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; only when I am in danger of burſting, I will

go

go and whiſper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wiſdom of my countrymen; but only theſe few words, *BEWARE OF* WOOD'*s HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

Deanry-houſe, Oct. 26. 1724.

humble ſervant,

J. S.

An

An humble ADDRESS to both Houſes of PARLIAMENT †.

By M. B. DRAPIER.

Multa gemens ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris.——

I HAVE been told, that petitions and addreſſes, to either King or parliament, are the right of every ſubject; provided they conſiſt with that reſpect, which is due to princes and great aſſemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modeſt propoſals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the ſtyle of advice; which is a preſumption far from my thoughts. However, if propoſals ſhould be looked upon as too aſſuming: yet I hope, every man may be ſuffered to declare his own and the nation's wiſhes. For inſtance; I may be allowed to wiſh, that ſome further laws were enacted for the advancement of trade, for the improvement of agriculture, now ſtrangely neglected againſt the maxims of all wiſe nations: for ſupplying the manifeſt defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees: for ſetting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty

† This addreſs is without a date, but it appears to have been written during the firſt ſeſſion of parliament in Lord Carteret's government, tho' it did not appear till it was inſerted with the preceeding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other accuracies in the Iriſh edition, two dates are aſſigned to the following tract; in the advertiſement prefixed it is ſaid to have been written the firſt ſeſſion of Carteret's government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival. *Hawkeſ.*

hearty wiſh of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this ſeſſion would begin by ſtrictly examining into the deteſtable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hard-ware man; who illegally and clandeſtinely, as appears by your own votes and addreſſes, procured a patent in England for coining halfpence in that kingdom to be current here. This, I ſay, is the wiſh of the whole nation, very few excepted; and upon account of thoſe few is more ſtrongly and juſtly the wiſh of the reſt: thoſe few conſiſting either of Wood's confederates, ſome obſcure tradeſmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgment and ſtrong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation by ſecuring or advancing themſelves. And becauſe ſuch men proceed upon a ſyſtem of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter ſtrangers, I ſhall humbly lay it before you.

BE pleaſed to ſuppoſe me in a ſtation of fifteen hundred pounds a year, ſalary and perquiſites; and likewiſe poſſeſſed of 800 *l.* a year real eſtate. Then ſuppoſe a deſtructive project to be on foot; ſuch for inſtance as this of Wood; which, if it ſucceed, in all the conſequences naturally to be expected from it, muſt ſink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, (altho' I am confident, it would have done ſo five ſixths.) Suppoſe, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately ſupporting this project, will pleaſe thoſe by whom I expect to be preſerved, or higher exalted: nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loſs, and ſum up the whole. I ſuppoſe that I ſhall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This at 1500 *l.* a year amounts in ten years to 15000 *l.* My eſtate by the ſucceſs of the ſaid project ſinks 400 *l.* a year; which at twenty years purchaſe, is but 8000 *l.* ſo that I am a clear gainer of 7000 *l.* upon the balance. And during all that period I am poſſeſſed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And if the project miſcarry, my private merit is ſtill entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practiſed, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the ruin or ſafety of a nation: altho' probably the charity and vir-

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tue of a ſenate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be ſuch monſters among mankind. And yet the wiſe Lord Bacon mentions a ſort of people, (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to obſerve the courſe of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the *revolution*, muſt acknowledge, that the higheſt points of intereſt and liberty have been often ſacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular perſons upon the very principles and arithmetic, that I have ſuppoſed: the only wonder is, how theſe artiſts were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public aſſemblies to become inſtruments for effecting their execrable deſigns.

It is, I think, in all conſcience latitude enough for vice, if a man in ſtation be allowed to act injuſtice upon the uſual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, ſerving his party, or conſulting his preferment, while his wickedneſs terminates in the ruin only of particular perſons. But to deliver up our whole country, and every living ſoul who inhabits it, to certain deſtruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the moſt favourable caſuiſts on the ſide of corruption. It were far better, that all who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom, ſhould be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatſoever above the degree of a *conſtable*, (according to the ſcheme and intention of a * *great miniſter* gone to his own place) than to live under the daily apprehenſion of a few *falſe brethren* among ourſelves. Becauſe, in the former caſe, we ſhould be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; ſince none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this deſperate affair of the new halfpence I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a ſhop-keeper to have been hitherto ſo bold, as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project; altho' I have been told of ſome very mollifying expreſſions which were

* The late Earl of Sunderland.

uſed, and very gentle expedients propoſed and handed about, when it firſt came under debate: but ſince the eyes of the people have been ſo far opened, that the moſt ignorant can plainly ſee their own ruin in the ſucceſs of Wood's attempt, theſe grand compounders have been more cautious.

BUT that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts, hath manifeſtly appeared (among other inſtances of great compliance) from certain circumſtances, that have attended ſome late proceedings * in a court of judicature. There is not any common-place more frequently inſiſted on by thoſe, who treat of our conſtitution, than the great happineſs and excellency of trials by juries; yet if this bleſſed part of our law be eludible at pleaſure by the force of power, frowns and artifice, we ſhall have little reaſon to boaſt of our advantage in this particular over other ſtates or kingdoms in Europe. And ſurely theſe high proceedings, exerciſed in a point that ſo nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their neceſſary ſubſiſtence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; becauſe it was obvious, that ſo much ſuperabundant zeal could have no other deſign, or produce any other effect, than to damp that ſpirit raiſed in the nation againſt this accurſed ſcheme of William Wood and his abettors; to which ſpirit alone we owe, and for ever muſt owe, our being hitherto preſerved, and our hopes of being preſerved for the future, if it can be kept up, and ſtrongly countenanced by your wiſe aſſemblies. I wiſh I could account for ſuch a demeanor upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our intereſt in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember ſome months ago, when this affair was freſh in diſcourſe, a perſon nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance to ſhew the bad conſequences, that might

* By Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, whoſe method with a jury may be ſeen in the note which follows the *propoſal for the uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*, and that at the end of *ſeaſonable advice to a grand-jury*. *Hawkeſ.*

might follow from any public reſentment to the diſadvantage of his ally, Mr Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being diſpoſed of from England. One of theſe emiſſaries came to me, and urged the ſame topic: I anſwered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his aſking; and that I looked upon all who had the diſadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of leaſers and gleaners. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who entreated his aſs to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the aſs refuſed to give himſelf that trouble, and upon a very wiſe reaſon; becauſe he could not poſſibly change his preſent maſter for a worſe: the enemy could not make him fare harder, beat him more cruelly, or load him with heavier burdens.

Upon theſe and many other conſiderations I may affirm it to be the wiſh of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, aſcertained, and confirmed by the legiſlature; and that whoever hath been manifeſtly known to violate them, might be ſtigmatized by public cenſure; not from any hope that ſuch a cenſure will amend their practices, or hurt their intereſt (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both) but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I ſay not this with any regard or view to myſelf; for I write in great ſecurity; and am reſolved that none ſhall merit at my expence, further than by ſhewing their zeal to diſcover, proſecute and condemn me for endeavouring to do my duty in ſerving my country: and yet I am conſcious to myſelf, that I never had the leaſt intention to reflect on his Majeſty's miniſters, nor on any other perſon, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of that number. However, ſome would have it, that I went too far; but I ſuppoſe they will now allow themſelves miſtaken. I am ſure I might eaſily have gone further, and I think I could not eaſily have fared worſe. And therefore I was no further affected with their proclamation, and ſubſequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the ſins of the people. And as to the poor printer, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great aſſemblies the general wiſhes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal wiſh, that your firſt proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood; ſo I muſt add as the univerſal opinion, that all ſchemes of commutation, compoſition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the moſt pernicious conſequences to the public; againſt the dignity of a free kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the ſame deſtructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at preſent diſputes, that even a connivance to admit one thouſand pounds in theſe half-pence will produce in time the ſame ruinous effects, as if we openly conſented to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more ſafe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy ſtate they are at preſent, (which however God forbid) and truſt entirely to the general averſion of our people againſt this coin, uſing all honeſt endeavours to preſerve, continue, and increaſe that averſion, than ſubmit to apply thoſe palliatives which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are upon all occaſions, and in all diſeaſes, ſo ready to adminiſter.

IN the ſmall compaſs of my reading (which however hath been more extenſive than is uſual to men of my inferior calling) I have obſerved, that grievances have always preceded ſupplies, and if ever grievances had a title to ſuch a pre-eminence, it muſt be this of Wood; becauſe it is not only the greateſt grievance that any country could ſuffer, but a grievance of ſuch a kind, that, if it ſhould take effect, would make it impoſſible for us to give any ſupplies at all, except in adulterate copper; unleſs a tax were laid for paying the civil and military liſts, and the large penſions, with real commodities inſtead of money; which however might be liable to ſome few objections as well as difficulties: for altho' the common ſoldiers might be content with beef and mutton, and wool, and malt, and leather; yet I am in ſome doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous penſioners, the civil officers and others, who all live in England upon Iriſh pay, as well as thoſe few who reſide among us only becauſe they cannot help it.

THERE is one particular, which altho' I have mentioned

tioned more than once in ſome of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; becauſe I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the hiſtory of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment.

After the unanimous addreſſes to his ſacred Majeſty againſt this patent of Wood from both houſes of parliament, which are the three eſtates of the kingdom; and likewiſe an addreſs from the privy council, to whom under the chief governors the whole adminiſtration is intruſted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one ſide; and a few volunteers, without any truſt or direction from hence, on the other. The queſtion (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of half-pence in Ireland: witneſſes are called on the behalf of Wood (of what credit I have formerly ſhewn*): upon the iſſue the patent is found good and legal; all his Majeſty's officers here (not excepting the military) commanded to be aiding and aſſiſting to make it effectual; the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of moſt counties and corporations thro' the kingdom, are altogether laid aſide as of no weight, conſequence, or conſideration whatſoever; and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonſuited in default of appearance; as if it were a private cauſe between John Dow, plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great reſpect to thoſe honourable perſons, the committee of council in London, I have not underſtood them to be our governors, counſellors, or judges. Neither did our caſe turn at all upon the queſtion, whether Ireland wanted half-pence. For there is no doubt, but we do want both half-pence, gold, and ſilver; and we have numberleſs other wants, and ſome that we are not ſo much as allowed to name, altho' they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is ſubject, whom God hath bleſſed with religion and laws, or any degree of ſoil and ſunſhine: but for what demerits on our ſide I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of half-pence

* In letter iii.

was either affirmed or denied in any of our addreſſes or declarations againſt thoſe of Wood. We alledged the fraudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baſeneſs of his metal, and the prodigious ſum to be coined, which might be increaſed by ſtealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as thoſe at home: whereby we muſt infallibly loſe all our little gold and ſilver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and diſcouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was paſſed without the leaſt reference hither; and without mention of any ſecurity given by Wood to receive his own half-pence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like caſes. Theſe, and many other arguments we offered; but ſtill the patent went on, and at this day our ruin would have been half compleated, if God in his mercy had not raiſed an univerſal deteſtation of theſe half-pence in the whole kingdom, with a firm reſolution never to receive them, ſince we are not under obligations to do ſo by any law either human or divine.

BUT, in the name of God and of all juſtice and piety, when the King's Majeſty was pleaſed that this patent ſhould paſs, is it not to be underſtood, that he conceived, believed, and intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his ſubjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom; of the moſt loyal kingdom upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up againſt him; a kingdom, where the paſſage is not of three hours from Britain; and a kingdom, where Papiſts have leſs power, and leſs land than in England? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majeſty's miniſters underſtood, and propoſed the ſame end, *the good of this nation*, when they adviſed the paſſing this patent? Can the perſon of Wood be otherwiſe regarded, than as the *inſtrument*, the *mechanic*, the *head-workman*, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his ſtamps? If I employ a *ſhoe-boy*, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the *perſon* of William Wood alone; becauſe *no other* appears, and we are not to reaſon upon *ſurmiſes*; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

ALLOWING therefore, (for we cannot do leſs) that this patent

patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a wiſe public-ſpirited miniſtry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whoſe good the patent was deſigned, do upon mature conſideration univerſally join in openly declaring, proteſting, addreſſing, petitioning againſt theſe half-pence, as the moſt ruinous project that ever was ſet on foot to compleat the ſlavery and deſtruction of a poor innocent country: *is it, was it, can it*, or *will it* ever be a queſtion, not whether ſuch a kingdom, or William Wood, ſhould be a gainer; but whether ſuch a kingdom ſhould be *wholly undone, deſtroyed, ſunk, depopulated*, made a ſcene of *miſery* and *deſolation*, for the ſake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our univerſal wiſh, that God would put it into your hearts to be his inſtruments for ſo good a work.

For my own part, who am but *one* man, of obſcure condition, I do ſolemnly declare in the preſence of almighty God, that I will ſuffer the moſt ignominious and torturing death rather than ſubmit to receive this accurſed coin, or any other that ſhall be liable to the ſame objections, until they ſhall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that ſhall ever happen, I will tranſport myſelf into ſome foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally puniſhable for theſe expreſſions? ſhall another proclamation iſſue againſt me, becauſe I preſume to take my country's part againſt William Wood, where her final deſtruction is intended? But whenever you ſhall pleaſe to impoſe ſilence upon me, I will ſubmit; becauſe I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in ſome manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying ſo long at mercy under ſo vile an adverſary, is ſuch a deplorable aggravation, that the utmoſt expreſſions of ſhame and rage are too low to ſet it forth; and therefore I ſhall leave it to receive ſuch a reſentment, as is worthy of a Parliament.

It is likewiſe our univerſal *wiſh*, that his Majeſty ſhould grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our own

own uſe, under ſuch reſtriction as a Parliament *here* ſhall adviſe: ſince the power of coining even gold and ſilver is poſſeſſed by every petty prince abroad; and was always practiſed by Scotland to the very time of the union; yet ſurely Scotland as to ſoil, climate, and extent, is not in itſelf a fourth part the value of Ireland (for Biſhop Burnet ſays, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the reſt of Britain); and with reſpect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thouſandth part. Altho' I muſt confeſs, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the ſide, is more dangerous and painful than a beam or a ſpike at a diſtance.

THE hiſtories of England, and of moſt other countries, abound in relating the miſerable, and ſometimes the moſt tragical effects from the abuſes of coin by debaſing the metal, by leſſening or inhancing the value upon occaſions, to the public loſs; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tendereſt point of government, affecting every individual in the higheſt degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unſettled, no man can well be ſaid to have any property at all; nor is any wound ſo ſuddenly felt, ſo hardly cured, or that leaves ſuch deep and laſting ſcars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy iſland to have a title to ſome indulgence from England; not only upon the ſcore of chriſtianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immenſe profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe from what it doth at preſent.

THE rents of land in Ireland, ſince they have been of late ſo enormouſly raiſed and ſcrewed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at leaſt is directly tranſmitted to thoſe, who are perpetual abſentees in England; as I find by a computation made with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſkilful gentlemen.

THE other articles, by which we are altogether loſers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almoſt as much more.

I will only ſet down as many heads of them as I can remember,

remember, and leave them to the conſideration of thoſe, who underſtand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The occaſional abſentees, for buſineſs, health, or diverſion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his abſence; which is uſually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the poſt-office.

The numerous penſions paid to perſons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army abſent in England, which is a great ſum.

Four commiſſioners of the revenue, always abſent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vaſt charge of appeals to the houſe of Lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two univerſities.

Eighty thouſand pounds ſent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime coſt is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thouſand pounds paid ſeveral years paſt for corn ſent over hither from England; the effect of our own *great wiſdom* in diſcouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian ſtuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, beſides the profit to England †, is an inconceivable loſs to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our ſtreets, or tranſport themſelves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loſs to us, and gain to England, by ſelling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime coſt: *a proceeding without example in the chriſtian or heathen world.*

Our own wool returned upon us in Engliſh manufactures to our infinite ſhame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to England; an effect of great negligence and ſtupidity.

An

† From whence theſe commodities were exported to Ireland the Eaſt-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured. *Hawkeſ.*

AN affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in England †.

THESE and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at preſent, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to England. And upon the whole, let any man look into thoſe authors who write upon the ſubject of commerce, he ſhall find, that there is not one ſingle article in the eſſentials or circumſtances of trade, whereby a country can be a loſer, which we do not poſſeſs in the higheſt perfection; ſomewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he ſtands ready with his ax at the root.

UPON this ſubject of perpetual abſentees I have ſpent ſome time in very inſignificant reflexions; and conſidering the uſual motives of human actions, which are *pleaſure, profit* and *ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how thoſe perſons find their account in any of the *three*. I ſpeak not of thoſe Engliſh peers or gentlemen, who beſide their eſtates at home have poſſeſſions here, for in that caſe the matter is deſperate; but I mean thoſe lords, and wealthy knights, or ſquires, whoſe birth, and partly their education and all their fortune (except ſome trifle, and that in a very few inſtances) are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during ſeveral years, when I reſided in England; and truly I could not diſcover, that the figure they made was by any means a ſubject for envy, at leaſt it gave me two very different paſſions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or ſometimes appearing behind a crowd at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hide-Park, or loſing their money at the chocolate-houſe, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I ſay, beſides theſe and a few other privileges of leſs importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I uſed to wonder, how a man of birth and ſpirit could endure to be

† Many of the above articles have been ſince particularly computed by another writer, to whoſe treatiſe the reader is referred. *Hawkeſ.*

be wholly inſignificant and obſcure in a foreign country when he might live with luſtre in his own; and even at leſs than half that expence, which he ſtrains himſelf to make without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for ſize with the ox. I have been told by ſcholars, that Cæſar ſaid he would rather be the firſt man in I know not what village, than the ſecond in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæſar: but to be preceded by thouſands and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or diſtinction, is not in my poor opinion a very amiable ſituation of life to a perſon of title or wealth, who can ſo cheaply and eaſily ſhine in his native country.

But, beſides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving ſo many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of ſo many country ſeats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to ſupply expences in England; the abſence of ſo many noble and wealthy perſons hath been the cauſe of another fatal conſequence, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that very conſiderable number of lords, who poſſeſs the ampleſt fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs of their own country in parliament; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble houſe would in all human probability have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, becauſe they never can be remedied: and we might have then decided our own properties among ourſelves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by ſea and land to another kingdom for juſtice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of ſervitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have ſometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were ſo deſirous to determine our controverſies, becauſe I have been aſſured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irkſome to that illuſtrious body: and whoever hath frequented the painted chamber and courts of requeſts muſt have obſerved, that they are never ſo nobly filled, as when an Iriſh appeal is under debate.

The

THE peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reſide in their caſtles and houſes in that bleak and barren climate; and altho' ſome of them made frequent journies to London, yet I do not remember any of their greateſt families, till very lately, to have made England their conſtant habitation before the union: or if they did, I am ſure it was generally to their own advantage; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increaſe their own eſtates; and by that means enrich themſelves and their country.

As to the great number of rich abſentees under the degree of peers; what particular ill effects their abſence may have upon this kingdom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether thoſe, who live in another kingdom upon great eſtates here, and have loſt all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the revenues they receive from it; I ſay, whether ſuch perſons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to vacant ſeats, who have no intereſt here except a precarious employment, and conſequently can have no views, but to preſerve what they have got, or to be higher advanced: this, I am ſure, is a very melancholy queſtion, *if it be a queſtion at all.*

BUT, beſides the prodigious profit which England receives by the tranſmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a receptacle, wherein to diſburden themſelves of their ſupernumerary pretenders to offices; perſons of ſecond rate merit in their own country, who, like birds of paſſage, moſt of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their credit and employments are at an end. So that Ireland may juſtly ſay what Luther ſaid of himſelf; *POOR* Ireland *maketh many rich.*

IF amidſt all our difficulties I ſhould venture to aſſert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe moſt of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what poſſible advantage could ever fall to our ſhare. However, it is certain, that all the regular ſeeds of party and faction among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones ſhall ſpring up, they muſt be of equivocal generation, without any ſeed at all; and will juſtly be imputed to a degree of ſtupidity beyond

beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the ſcore of our birth-place and climate.

THE parties in this kingdom (including thoſe of modern date) are, firſt, of thoſe who have been charged or ſuſpected to favour the Pretender; and thoſe who were zealous oppoſers of him. Secondly, of thoſe who were for, and againſt a toleration of diſſenters by law. Thirdly, of high and low church; or (to ſpeak in the cant of the times) of Whig and Tory. And fourthly, of court and country. If there be any more, they are beyond my obſervation or politics; for as to ſubaltern or occaſional parties, they have all been derivations from the ſame originals.

Now it is manifeſt, that all theſe incitements to faction, party, and diviſion, are wholly removed from among us. For as to the Pretender, his cauſe is both deſperate and obſolete: there are very few now alive, who were men in his father's time, and in that Prince's intereſt; and in all others the obligation of conſcience hath no place *: even the Papiſts in general of any ſubſtance or eſtates, and their prieſts almoſt univerſally, are what we call Whigs, in the ſenſe which by that word is generally underſtood. They feel the ſmart, and ſee the ſcars of their former wounds; and very well know, that they muſt be made a ſacrifice to the leaſt attempts towards a change; altho' it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their ſuperſtition reſtored under any prince whatſoever.

SECONDLY, The diſſenters are now tolerated by law: neither do we obſerve any murmurs at preſent from that quarter, except thoſe reaſonable complaints they make of perſecution, becauſe they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very ſmall in either houſe of Parliament, they are not yet in a ſituation to erect a party, becauſe however indifferent men may be with regard to religion, they are now grown wiſe enough to know, that if ſuch a latitude were allowed to diſſenters, the few ſmall employments left us in cities and corporations would find other hands to lay hold on them.

* The obligation ariſing from their having ſworn allegiance, *Hawkeſ.*

THIRDLY, The diſpute between *high* and *low church* is now at an end; two thirds of the *biſhops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and moſt of them from England, who have beſtowed *all* preferments in their gift to thoſe they could well *confide in*: the *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church livings, are in the donation of the crown: ſo that we already poſſeſs *ſuch a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controverſy upon that antiquated and exploded ſubject.

LASTLY, As to *court* and *country parties*, ſo famous and avowed under moſt reigns in Engliſh Parliaments: this kingdom hath not for ſeveral years paſt been a proper ſcene, whereon to exerciſe ſuch contentions; and is now leſs proper than ever; many great employments for life being in diſtant hands, and the reverſions diligently watched and ſecured: the temporary ones of any inviting value are all beſtowed elſewhere as faſt as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low conſideration to create conteſts about them, except among younger brothers, or tradeſmen like myſelf. And therefore, to inſtitute a *court* and *country party* without materials, would be a very new ſyſtem in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor unleſs in *a nation of ideots* can ever ſucceed, for the moſt ignorant Iriſh cottager will not *ſell his cow for a groat*.

THEREFORE I conclude, that all *party* and *faction* with regard to public proceedings are now extinguiſhed in this kingdom *; neither doth it appear in view how they can poſſibly revive, unleſs ſome new cauſes be adminiſtered; which cannot be done without croſſing the intereſts of thoſe, who are the greateſt gainers by continuing the ſame meaſures. And general calamities without hope of redreſs are allowed to be the great uniters of mankind.

HOWEVER we may diſlike the *cauſes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an univerſal concord among us in all national debates, as well as in cities, corporations, and country neighbourhoods may keep us at leaſt alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in peace and amity. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-

* Since this diſcourſe was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much miſtaken in his conjectures.

daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the ſubject of the quarrel; which when none of them could tell, they put up their ſwords, ſat down, and paſſed the reſt of the evening in quiet. The former part hath been our caſe, I hope the latter will be ſo too; that we ſhall ſit down amicably together, at leaſt until we have ſomething that may give us a title to fall out, ſince nature hath inſtructed even a brood of *goſlings* to *ſtick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm union in any country, where every man wiſhes the ſame thing with relation to the public, may in ſeveral points of the greateſt importance in ſome meaſure ſupply the defect of power and even of thoſe rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind. If the univerſal wiſh of the nation upon any point were declared by the unanimous vote of the houſe of Commons, and a reaſonable number of Lords, I ſhould think myſelf obliged in conſcience to act in my ſphere according to that vote; becauſe in all free nations I take the proper definition of law to be, "the will of the majority of thoſe who have the property in land;" which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal aſſent. And altho' ſuch votes or declarations have not received ſuch a confirmation for certain accidental reaſons; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the ſubject, provided they neither oppoſe the King's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which however can reaſonably be ſuppoſed. Thus for inſtance, if nine inten of the houſe of Commons, and a reaſonable number of native temporal Peers, ſhould declare, that whoever received or uttered braſs coin, except under certain limitations and ſecurities, ſhould be deemed as enemies to the King and the nation; I ſhould think it a heinous ſin in myſelf to act contrary to ſuch a vote: and if the ſame power ſhould declare the ſame cenſure againſt thoſe, who wore Indian ſtuffs and callicoes or woollen manufactures imported from abroad, whereby this nation is reduced to the loweſt ebb of miſery, I ſhould readily, heartily, and chearfully pay obedience; and to my utmoſt power perſuade others to do the like; becauſe there is no law of

this land obliging us either to receive ſuch coin, or to wear ſuch foreign manufactures.

* UPON this laſt article I could humbly wiſh, that the reverend the *clergy* would ſet us an example by contenting themſelves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Iriſh drapery; which, as it would be ſome incitement to the *laity*, and ſet many hands to work, ſo they would find their advantage in the cheapneſs, which is a circumſtance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable body. † And in order to this I could heartily deſire, that the moſt ingenious artiſts of the weaving trade would contrive ſome decent ſtuffs and ſilks for *clergymen* at reaſonable rates.

I have preſſed ſeveral of our moſt ſubſtantial brethren, that the whole corporations of *weavers* in ſilk and woollen would publiſh ſome *propoſals* (I wiſh they would do it to both houſes of Parliament) inviting perſons of all degrees and of both ſexes to wear the woollen and ſilk manufactures of our own country; entering into ſolemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer ſhall have good, ſubſtantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening. So that if I ſent a child for a piece of ſtuff of a particular colour and fineneſs, I ſhould be ſure not to be deceived; or if I had reaſon to complain, the corporation ſhould give me immediate ſatisfaction; and the name of the tradeſman, who did me the wrong, ſhould be publiſhed; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unleſs the matter plainly appeared to be a miſtake: for, beſide the trouble of going from ſhop to ſhop, an ignorant cuſtomer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodneſs of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dextrous and diſhoneſt man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general diſreputation; and the gentry call for Engliſh cloth or ſilk, from an opinion hey

* This hath ſince been put in practice by the perſuaſions and influence of the ſuppoſed author; but much defeated by the moſt infamous fraud of ſhopkeepers. *Hawkeſ.*

† This ſcheme was likewiſe often urged to the weavers by the ſuppoſed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice. *Hawkeſ.*

they have (and often too juſtly by our own faults) that the *goodneſs* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the ſottiſh and ruinous practice of us tradeſmen upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad to raiſe the prices immediately, and manufacture the ſaid goods more ſlightly and fraudulently than before.

Of theſe foul and fooliſh proceedings too many inſtances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received ſuch a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the ſucceſs of Wood's project could out-do it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain: but whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or diſhoneſty of the *northern* weavers, or the colluſion of both, the ware was ſo bad, and the price ſo exceſſive, that, except ſome ſmall quantity which was ſold below the prime coſt, the greateſt part was returned; and I have been told by very intelligent perſons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain would have taken its courſe from hence.

If any puniſhment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, ſurely there could none be thought too great for ſuch a race of *traytors*, and *enemies* to God and their country; who for the proſpect of a little *preſent* gain do not only ruin themſelves (for that alone would be an *example* to the reſt, and a *bleſſing* to the nation) but ſell their ſouls to hell, and their country to deſtruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to thoſe who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from Marſeilles, thoſe wretches would have died with leſs title to *pity*, than a *highway-man* going to the gallows.

But it happens very unluckily, that for ſome time paſt, all endeavours or propoſals from private perſons to advance the public ſervice, however honeſtly and innocently deſigned, have been called flying in the king's face; and this to my knowledge hath been the ſtyle of *ſome perſons*, whoſe *anceſtors* (I mean thoſe among them

who had any) and themſelves have been flying in princes faces thoſe fourſcore years; and from their own inclinations would do ſo ſtill, if their intereſt did not lead them rather to fly in the face of a kingdom, which hath given them wings to enable them for ſuch a flight.

THUS, about four years ago, when a diſcourſe * was publiſhed endeavouring to perſuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the moſt dutiful expreſſions to the King, and without the leaſt party hint, it was termed *flying in the King's face*; the printer was proſecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope it will ſomewhere be remembered further, the jury kept eleven hours, and ſent back nine times, till they were under the neceſſity of leaving the priſoner to the mercy of the court, by a ſpecial verdict; the † judge on the bench *invoking God for his witneſs*, when he aſſerted, that the author's deſign was to bring in the Pretender.

AND thus alſo my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admiſſion of Wood's coin were called by the ſame perſons, *flying in the King's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that vile repreſentation of the royal countenance in William Wood's adulterate copper to be his ſacred Majeſty's face; or if it were, my flying was not againſt the impreſſion, but the baſeneſs of the metal; becauſe I well remembered, that the *image* which Nebuchadnezzar *commanded to be ſet up for all men to fall down and worſhip it*, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily ſorry, we have ſo few royal images of that metal among us; the ſight whereof, altho' it could hardly increaſe our veneration for his Majeſty, which is already ſo great, yet would very much enliven it with the mixture of comfort and ſatisfaction.

ALEXANDER the Great would ſuffer no ſtatuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in ſtone or metal. How muſt he have treated ſuch an operator as Wood, who goes about with ſack-fulls of droſs, odiouſly miſrepreſenting his Prince's countenance; and would force them by thouſands upon every one of us at above ſix times the value.

BUT

* The propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures.

† Judge Whitſhed.

But, notwithſtanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himſelf, together with his favourers, abettors, ſupporters, either public or private; by thoſe who connive at this project, or diſcourage and diſcountenance his oppoſers for fear of leſſening their favour, or hazarding their employments; by thoſe, who endeavour to damp the ſpirit of the people raiſed againſt this coin, or check the honeſt zeal of ſuch as by their writings or diſcourſes do all they can to keep it up; by thoſe ſofteners, ſweeteners, compounders, and expedient-mongers, who ſhake their heads ſo ſtrongly that we can hear their pockets jingle; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of ſuch enemies to the kingdom I was flying in the King's face; or thought they were better repreſenters of his Majeſty than that very coin, for which they are ſecret or open advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only thoſe wiſhes of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be ſummed up in theſe few following.

First, That an end might be put to our apprehenſions of Wood's half-pence, and to any danger of the like deſtructive ſcheme for the future.

Secondly, That half-pence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, That the ſenſe of both houſes of Parliament, at leaſt of the houſe of Commons, were declared by ſome unanimous and hearty votes againſt wearing any ſilk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewiſe againſt wearing Indian ſilks or callicoes, which are forbidden under the higheſt penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from ſo wiſe a nation; becauſe we are under a greater neceſſity to do ſo, ſince we are not allowed to export any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, That ſome effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer ſort of our natives in all thoſe parts of this kingdom, where the Iriſh abound, by introducing among them our language and cuſtoms; for want of which they live in the utmoſt ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themſelves wholly up to idleneſs, naſtineſs, and thievry, to the very great and juſt reproach of

too

too many landlords. And if I had in me the leaſt ſpirit of a projector, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconſiderable charge.

FIFTHLY, That due encouragement ſhould be given to agriculture; and a ſtop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engroſſing vaſt quantities of land, ſometimes at great diſtance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

SIXTHLY, That the defects in thoſe acts for planting foreſt trees might be fully ſupplied, ſince they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demeſnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unſkilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preſerve what is planted, or to encloſe grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of ſkill and induſtry. The neglect of copſing woods cut down hath likewiſe been of very evil conſequences. And if men were reſtrained from that unlimited liberty of cutting down their own woods before the proper time, as they are in ſome other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of ſuch a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in ſo ſhort a time, with ſo little advantage to the country either in ſhipping or building.

I may add that abſurd practice of cutting turf without any regularity; whereby great quantities of reſtorable land are made utterly deſperate, many thouſands of cattle deſtroyed, the turf more difficult to come at and carry home, and leſs fit for burning; the air made unwholſome by ſtagnating pools and marſhes; and the very ſight of ſuch places offenſive to thoſe who ride by. Neither ſhould that odious cuſtom be allowed of cutting *ſcraws* (as they call them) which is flaying of the green ſurface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; ſometimes in ſhallow ſoils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and ſometimes in low ground, with a thin green ſward, and ſloughy underneath; which laſt turns all into bog by this miſmanagement. And I have heard from very ſkilful countrymen, that by theſe two practices in turf and ſcraws the kingdom loſeth ſome hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; beſides

the

the irreparable loſs of many ſkirts of bogs, which have a green coat of graſs, and yet are mangled for turf: and beſides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their turf home at an eaſy rate, but likewiſe render even the larger bogs more dry and ſafe for ſummer paſture.

THESE, and ſome other ſpeculations of the like kind, I had intended to publiſh in a particular diſcourſe againſt this ſeſſion of parliament; becauſe, in ſome periods of my life, I had opportunity and curioſity to obſerve, from what cauſes thoſe great errors in every branch of country-management have ariſen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof ſome perhaps would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all poſſible means to avoid. And for the ſame reaſon I choſe to add here the little I thought proper to ſay on this ſubject.

BUT, as to the lands of thoſe who are perpetual abſentees, I do not ſee any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants ſat at eaſy rents; but for ſome years paſt they have been, generally ſpeaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of mercileſs agents from England, than even thoſe who held under the ſevereſt landlords here. I was aſſured upon the place by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious eſtate in the county of Cork being let upon leaſes for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was ſo high, that the tenants begged leave to ſurrender their leaſes, and were content to loſe their fines.

THE cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a ſubject worthy of the higheſt inquiry in any country, but eſpecially in ours; where we are ſo ſtrangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of thoſe, which are of the greateſt importance; whereof I defy the moſt learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the benefit which God and nature intended to us; as manifeſtly appears by our happy ſituation for commerce, and the great number of our excellent ports. So that, I think, little is left us, beſides the cultivating our own ſoil, encouraging agriculture, and making great plantations of trees, that we might

might not be under the neceſſity of ſending for corn and bark from England, and timber from other countries. This would increaſe the number of our inhabitants, and help to conſume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I ſhall never forget what I once ventured to ſay to a great man in England: that few politicians, with all their ſchemes, are half ſo uſeful members of a commonwealth as an honeſt farmer; who, by ſkilfully draining, fencing, manuring and planting, hath increaſed the intrinſic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a perpetual ſervice to his country; which it is a great controverſy whether any of the former ever did, ſince the creation of the world; but no controverſy at

Altho', in the foregoing letters, Dr Swift talks of liberty in a ſtrain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reaſon, juſtice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole courſe of his arguments, from the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the moſt loyal ſubject; whatever might to the contrary have been ſuppoſed by a few degenerate ſlaves and ſycophants in thoſe days; even by that ſort of people, who, as the wiſe Lord Bacon expreſſes it, would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

D. *Swift.*

However indeed ſuch was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 *l.* was offered for the author of the 4th letter, chiefly becauſe he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms worthy of a brave and reſolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his ſovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the viciſſitudes of this world, his Majeſty's affairs might poſſibly take in other parts of his dominions.—I ſhall only remark upon this doctrine, the contrary of which would, I think, have been high treaſon, and againſt his oath of allegiance, that how much ſoever it was condemned in the 1724 by ſlaves and flatterers, it was in the 1745 ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed in the minds of men, that if there had been occaſion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the ſword in defence of their ſovereign (which, beſide their loyalty and affection to his Majeſty, they have many reaſons to thank God for that there was not) K. George II. would undoubtedly have been ſupported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his Majeſty's affairs, in other parts of his dominions, have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout

at all, that ninety nine in a hundred have done abundance of miſchief.

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throughout all Europe; even by the grand-children of thoſe men ſo renowned for their valorous atchievements in the days of K. William III.——As the author of the 4th letter could not be diſcovered, Harding the printer was indicted in the uſual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whitſhed above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country and to the public intereſt, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Juſtice in a rage diſſolved the jury: on account of which he deſerved to have been impeached by the houſe of Commons; becauſe the diſſolving of a grand jury, *&c.* See above, p. 80. l. 5. *Swift.*

A full and true Account of the ſolemn proceſſion to the GALLOWS, at the execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq; and Hard-ware-man *.

[Written in the year 1724.]

SOME time ago, upon a report ſpread, that William Wood, Hard-ware-man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † houſe here in Dublin, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both ſexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Amongſt the reſt, a certain curious perſon ſtanding in a corner obſerved, that they all diſcovered their reſentments in the proper terms and expreſſions of their ſeveral trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleaſed to communicate them to me, with leave to publiſh them for the uſe of thoſe, who at any time hereafter may be at a loſs for proper words wherein to expreſs their good diſpoſitions towards the ſaid William Wood.

THE people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament-man. *Expel* him the *houſe*.

2d parliament-man. I ſecond that *motion*.

Cook. I'll *baſte* him.

2d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full*.

3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops*.

4th Cook. I'll *ſowce* him.

Drunken-

* In this piece the author makes the ſeveral artificers attend William Wood (repreſented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradeſman expreſſes his reſentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the proceſſion, moſt humorouſly deſcribed. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the ſtrongeſt gravity to withſtand. *Orrery.*

† One Molyneux an ironmonger.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *ſtand.*
Bookſeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *lights* ſhine thro' him.
Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy.*
School-maſter. I'll make him an *example.*
Rabbet-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.
Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
Coiner. I'll give him a *rap.*
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll daſh out his *grinders.*
2d Miller. *Dam* him.
Boat-man. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel.*
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue.*
Bagnio-man. I'll make the *houſe* too *hot* for him.
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
3d Whore. *Clap* him up.
Muſtard-maker. I'll have him by the *noſe.*
Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him.*
Popiſh-prieſt. I'll *ſend him* to the devil.
Dancing-maſter. I'll *teach him better manners.*
2d dancing-maſter. I'll make him cut a *caper* three ſtory high.
Farmer. I'll *thraſh him.*
Taylor. I'll ſit on his *ſkirts.*
2d taylor. *Hell* is too good for him.
3d taylor. I'll *pink* his *doublet.*
4th taylor. I'll make his a—— make *buttons.*
Baſket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.
Fidler. I'll have him by the *ears.*
2d Fidler. I'll bang him to ſome *tune.*
Barber. I'll have him by the *beard.*
2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiſkers.*
3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* ſtand on end.
4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks.*
Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.
Tobacconiſt. I'll make him *ſmoak*.
2d Tobacconiſt. I'll make him ſet up his *pipes*.
Gold finder. I'll make him *ſtink*.
Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver*.
2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.
Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.
2d Butcher. Let us *blow him up*.
3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.
Nurſe. I'll *ſwaddle* him.
Anabaptiſt. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.
Oſtler. I'll *rub* him *down*.
Shoemaker. Set him in the *ſtocks*.
Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.
2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
Gameſter. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his ſides.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.
Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.
Old woman. I'll *mumble* him.
Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

BUT at laſt the people, having received aſſurances, that William Wood was neither in the houſe nor kingdom, appointed certain commiſſioners to hang him in effigie; whereof the whole ceremony and proceſſion deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

FIRST, The way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with ſhort ſticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

THEN appeared William Wood, Eſq; repreſented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ſhip. Upon his face, which looked very diſmal, were fixed at proper diſtances ſeveral pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to ſignify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully compoſed of four old mops; a halter about his neck ſerved him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not ſo neat and elegant as is uſual with perſons in his condition (which ſome cenſorious people imputed to affectation)

tion) for he was covered with a large rugg of ſeveral colours in patchwork: he was born upon the ſhoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's-green, he often bowed on both ſides to ſhew his reſpects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, tho' ſomewhat penſive, was very compoſed.

BEHIND him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his noſe, and a handkerchief in his left hand to wipe the tears from his face.

NEXT in order marched the executioner himſelf in perſon; whoſe venerable aſpect drew the eyes of the whole aſſembly upon him; but he was further diſtinguiſhed by a halter, which he bore upon his left ſhoulder as the badge of his office.

THEN followed two perſons hand in hand; the one repreſenting William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain ſadler, his intimate friend, whoſe name I forget. Each had a ſmall kettle in his hand, wherein was a reaſonable quantity of the new half-pence. At proper periods they ſhook their kettles, which made a melancholy ſound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

AFTER theſe followed ſeveral officers, whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

THE proceſſion was cloſed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently ſent out loud huzza's; which were cenſured by wiſer heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly conſidering the various viciſſitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial hiſtorian, I will not conceal one obſervation, that Mr Wood himſelf appeared wholly unmoved, without the leaſt alteration in his countenance; only when he came within ſight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the ſame ſpecies of timber with his own perſon, he ſeemed to be ſomewhat penſive.

AT the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was ſeen to ſhed a tear. He made no reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelf with great reſignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to uſe him with too much roughneſs, neither kiſſing him, nor aſking him pardon. His dying

SPEECH was printed, and deſerves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being aſked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

THOSE of the ſofter ſex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that ſo comely and well-timbered a man ſhould come to ſo untimely an end. He hung but a ſhort time; for upon feeling his breaſt, they found it cold and ſtiff.

IT is ſtrange to think, how this melancholy ſpectacle turned the hearts of the people to compaſſion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all ſorts of people ſhewed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an ale-houſe of diſtinction, and in a manner ſuitable to the quality of the deceaſed. While the attendants were diſcourſing about his funeral, a worthy member of the aſſembly ſtood up and propoſed, that the body ſhould be carried out the next day, and burned with the ſame pomp and formalities uſed at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning there appeared a ſecond proceſſion. But, burning not having been any part of the ſentence, authority thought fit to interpoſe, and the corps was reſcued by the civil power.

WE hear the body is not yet interred; which occaſions many ſpeculations. But what is more wonderful, it is poſitively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witneſſes, that there does not appear the leaſt alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor viſible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The ſolution of which difficulty, I ſhall leave among naturaliſts.

Some

Some Conſiderations on the attempts to paſs Mr WOOD'S BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a lover of his country.

IT is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee "the ſeveral "reſolutions and addreſſes of both houſes of Parliament of Ireland, during their late ſeſſion, the late addreſs of his Majeſty's juſtices and privy-council of that "kingdom, and the petition of the county of the city of "Dublin;" whereby the unanimous ſenſe of this nation, and "the great apprehenſions they were under, from importing and uttering copper half-pence and farthings "in Ireland, by virtue of the patent granted to William "Wood," have been repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms; I ſay; it is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee the force of all theſe repreſentations, eluded by the petitions of a ſingle perſon, ſuch as Mr Wood.

IF juſtice ſtood on the ſide of this ſingle perſon, it ought to give good men pleaſure to ſee that right ſhould take place; but when, on the contrary, the common weal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people diſtracted with apprehenſion of the utmoſt danger to their properties, nay, the preſervation of the purity of their laws, is overborn by private intereſt, what good man but muſt lament ſuch an unhappy ſtate of affairs?

AND ſince the matter was of this importance, and ſeemed to carry with it the teſtimony of heaven, in the univerſal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus with one voice deprecated the evil, with any ſhew of reaſon take upon them the riſque of any miſcarriage in a trial, in a ſubordinate court?

IT was to our gracious Sovereign, that all theſe addreſſes and petitions were preſented: it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cauſe; and it would have been the higheſt piece of arrogance, for any perſon to have preſumed to take upon

themſelves a ſhare in that truſt, which was only repoſed in his Majeſty's hands. It is no wonder therefore, "that "every one was guarded with caution, againſt giving "any advice or opinion in this matter of ſtate; for which "reaſon they ought to apprehend great danger to them-"ſelves, from meddling in it."

THO' this proceeding may ſeem extraordinary; yet it being on a moſt extraordinary matter, on a matter of ſuch importance, as ſeemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the iſſue of it; on a matter wherein the lords and commons were complainants, and the King immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but alſo as particular and only truſtee, in whom his people repoſed entire confidence to redreſs the grievances complained of; was it not entirely reaſonable and fit, that every particular perſon of this kingdom, ſhould reſt upon what was done by the whole body of the people duly aſſembled in parliament, and not arrogantly aſſume to themſelves, a power of putting the fate of this nation to an iſſue before twelve men?

SINCE then it plainly appears, that this matter is of ſuch a high nature, that no particular perſon ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be preſumed, that the non-appearance of perſons to ſupport the united ſenſe of both houſes of Parliament of Ireland, can never be conſtrued as a general diffidence, of being able to ſupport the charge brought againſt the patent and patentee; tho' indeed it might proceed from a general and a very reaſonable apprehenſion of a miſcarriage in this important affair; "wherein both houſes of Parliament had declared them-"ſelves ſo fully convinced, and ſatisfied upon evidence, "and examination taken in the moſt ſolemn manner;" that for my part, I (and ſo I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their reſolutions, to have the ſame dignity (in this caſe) with a maxim in law, "*quia maxima eſt eorum dignitas, et certiſſima authoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

AND therefore I don't preſume to enter the liſts, in order to ſupport the reſolutions of both houſes of Parliament; for I look upon it, that they are ſo ſure and uncontrouſable, that they ought not to be queſtioned; but it ſhall be the buſineſs of this paper, to point out ſome of the

the miſchiefs, which will naturally reſult from this coinage of Mr Wood's, in caſe it ſhould be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of iſſuing this money of Mr Wood's, is limited, and without any compulſion, and currency inforced, to be received by ſuch only, as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame. But then it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory on all his Majeſty's officers and miniſters, to receive the ſame.

By this means there is a foundation laid for the moſt unheard-of confuſion that ever was introduced into the buſineſs of a nation; for here is eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of money, made of the baſeſt metal, which none in employments under his Majeſty muſt refuſe in payments to the crown or to themſelves, and yet all the reſt of his ſubjects are at liberty to refuſe the ſame in payments to be made to them, either by his Majeſty, or by any other perſon.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be highly prejudiced, by the want of intrinſic value in the coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in employments under his Majeſty, are the perſons, who, in the firſt place, muſt bear the burden of this miſchief. For if they are the only perſons who are obliged to receive this coin as current money, it is to be preſumed that no other perſons will receive the ſame but with conſiderable allowance for the difference between the braſs money, and that made of gold and ſilver.

And even with a conſiderable allowance, it will be hard to conceive how this braſs money will find any degree of currency in the world, without the aſſiſtance of a ſet of men, who may probably raiſe great eſtates in this unſettled courſe of affairs; but ſuch a ſet of people ought never to be encouraged by a wiſe government, for they will make their fortunes by the loſſes of good ſubjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet thoſe huckſterers, or money-jobbers, will be found neceſſary, if this braſs money is made current in the Exchequer.

To ſhew in ſome meaſure the proportion of this miſchief to his Majeſty's revenue, and to thoſe in immediate offices under him; it muſt be conſidered, that the groſs revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000 *l. per annum*; out of which muſt be deducted the charge of collection and

and draw-backs; which to be ſure the ſeveral collectors, and thoſe who are to receive the draw-backs, will take care to receive in ſterling money; about 80,000*l. per annum*; and there will remain for the diſcharge of the civil and military liſts, penſions, &c. 420,000 *l. per annum*, which ſum, it is probable, iſſues out of the treaſury by monthly payments of about 35,000 *l. per month*, for otherwiſe the current caſh in this nation could not poſſibly pay the revenue, and ſerve to carry on even the little buſineſs of this country; for it hath never been computed that our current coin amounts to more than 500,000 *l.* ſo that if 40,000 *l.* of Mr Wood's braſs money is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this ſpecies ſhould be brought in), it is manifeſt that that ſum will be near one twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military liſts, and penſions, &c. of this kingdom.

If this ſum ſhould ſtagnate in the treaſury, it is certain there will be no greater loſs (immediately brought) by this coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies dead amounts to: but if it is iſſued in monthly payments to the army, and other his Majeſty's officers and miniſters, as in all probability it muſt; then this coin, being compoſed of a baſe metal, current only in the Exchequer, where it is received at an imaginary value, of at leaſt 60 *per cent.* more than the real value of the material, it will be ſuddenly paid back again to the collectors, and by that means paſs through the treaſury, at leaſt three times in every year; for there we are told, it is to meet with no let or moleſtation.

And ſeeing the currency of this money is not inforced on any other of his Majeſty's ſubjects, it is eaſy to conceive, that the difference of value between this coin, and the gold and ſilver which will be current in the nation, will be ſettled by the money-jobbers, at about 20 *per cent.* diſcount.

By which means alone, there will be loſt in the intrinſic value of the revenue the ſum of 24,000*l. per ann.* without computing for the loſſes which muſt neceſſarily be brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this coin will create among the people; all which will be manifeſtly deſtructive of the trade and commerce

commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous conſequence to the properties of the ſubject.

AND yet the evil has been here computed on a ſuppoſition that only 40,000*l.* of this money will be uttered in the kingdom; but I take it to be impoſſible to limit the quantity that ſhall be brought in, eſpecially if the importers of it have ſo ſure a market for the ſame as the Exchequer.

FOR tho' his Majeſty ſhould be able to prevent Mr Wood from coining any more than 40,000*l.* and ſhould never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant his ſpecial licence or authority to enlarge that ſum, yet it will be impoſſible to prevent the importation of this ſort of coin from other nations. And there have been ſuch variety of dyes made uſe of by Mr Wood in ſtamping his money, that it makes the diſcovery of counterfeits more difficult, and the profit is ſo great, that it will be a ſufficient temptation to our induſtrious neighbours of Holland to ſend large quantities of this coin to ſo ſure a market as the Exchequer.

AND perhaps it may be a queſtion among lawyers, whether a man can be puniſhed at the King's ſuit, for counterfeiting this coin, becauſe it is not the current coin of the kingdom; for tho' theſe half-pence are to be received as money in the Exchequer, yet in trade they are no better than counters, and therefore the patent may perhaps be conſtrued to be no more than a grant of a monopoly to make thoſe counters.

BUT it is worth obſerving, that if this patent is ſo worded, as that his Majeſty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuſe receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom, and which are to be found in the books of rates diſtributed among the officers of the revenue.

FOR by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his Majeſty and his ſucceſſors, are to be paid in lawful money of England. And by the act of exciſe, or new-impoſt, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expreſsly declared and enacted, "that the ſeveral rates and duties of exciſe, and all fines, "penalties, forfeitures, or other ſum, or ſums of money "rated, impoſed, ſet, or forfeited, in and by this act, "are

" are meant and intended to be current and lawful mo-
" ney or moneys of England, and that all and every of
" the ſame be therefore demanded, received, paid and
" ſatisfied accordingly."

By theſe acts it is manifeſt, that the collectors are obliged to receive the ſeveral duties ariſing from the cuſtom and exciſe, in no other money but ſuch as is current and lawful money of England; and Mr. Wood's half-pence and farthings not being current or lawful money in England, or in this kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of parliament, and therefore void in itſelf.

And if the ſeveral collectors of his Majeſty's revenue in this kingdom ſhould receive the ſaid duties, or any part of them, in Mr Wood's braſs money, it would be aſſuming to themſelves a power to diſpenſe with thoſe acts of parliament, contrary to the ſenſe of both houſes of Parliament, and contrary to their reſpective oaths; ſo that it ſeems highly reaſonable, becauſe conſonant to law, that " the officers of the revenue ſhould give orders
" to the inferior officers, not to receive this coin."

Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the King hath a power to direct what coin he pleaſes to be received by the officers of his revenue, and that this patent is in conſequence of ſuch a prerogative. But it is to be hoped that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament aſſembled, as in their private capacities, have ſhewed a general diſlike.

Moreover, as this caſe ſtands circumſtanced, it is a great queſtion, whether his Majeſty hath ſuch a diſpenſing power: for tho' it ſhould be allowed, that his Majeſty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleaſes; yet it is moſt certain, that his Majeſty does not intend to inforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his ſubjects, much leſs doth his Majeſty intend to oblige thoſe, who are intitled by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr Wood's.

And it is plain, that by the act of exciſe, there are ſeveral fines, penalties and forfeitures, which by virtue of that act are to be received in current money of England,

and

and to half thoſe fines, forfeitures and penalties, the informers are intitled by virtue of the ſaid act: ſo that if the officers ſhould be obliged to receive them in braſs money, the informers muſt neceſſarily loſe the benefit of the ſaid act: and I may venture to ſay, that act cannot be repealed but by another act, to be made by King, Lords, and Commons; and not by a patent.

ALL theſe things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both houſes of Parliament of Ireland; it is not to be wondered, that "they repreſent, that the patent had been obtained in a clandeſtine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious miſrepreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland." For what can be more clandeſtine, than to obtain a patent with powers, not only "highly prejudicial to his Majeſty's revenue, "deſtructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous conſequence to the properties "of the ſubject," but alſo contrary to ſeveral acts of parliament? and that it was an unprecedented attempt, at leaſt in this reign, will be readily allowed; therefore all the repreſentations made of the ſtate of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, may with great truth be called *notorious miſrepreſentations.*

BUT it has been ſaid, that his Majeſty cannot proceed againſt the patentee, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and juſtice: and God forbid that any one of this kingdom, ſhould adviſe his Majeſty to ſubvert or diſpenſe with any of our laws. No part of the addreſſes from the houſes of Parliament of Ireland, has the leaſt tendency this way.

FOR tho' the houſe of Commons, in their ſecond addreſs to his Majeſty, "moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty "that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to "the ſeveral officers intruſted with the receipt of his Majeſty's revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatſoever, utter ſuch half-pence and farthings:" yet, if his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to have given orders, according to this humble addreſs of his people of Ireland; it is humbly conceived that this would have been only an affirmance of the law of the land, as hath hath been ſaid, and not any way contrary to law.

FOR

FOR tho' his Majeſty, by "his patent under the great "ſeal of Great Britain, wills, requires, and commands "his lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or go- "vernors of his kingdom of Ireland, and all other offi- "cers and miniſters of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſuc- "ceſſors in England, Ireland or elſewhere, to be aiding "and aſſiſting to the ſaid William Wood, his executors, "&c. in the execution of all or any the powers, authori- "ties, directions, matters or things to be executed by "him or them, for his or their benefit or advantage, "by virtue, and in purſuance of the ſaid indentures; yet "it is in all things as becometh, &c." And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the ſaid patent, whereby it is manifeſt that his Majeſty never intended "to inforce the curren- "cy of this money, to be received by any perſon, that "would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame."

THEREFORE, ſince the people have ſhewed a general diſlike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that ſome method will be found out to eaſe their minds, from the diſtracti- on they are under on this occaſion.

A ſhort VIEW of the STATE of IRELAND.

[Written in the year 1727.]

I Am aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been practiſed as a method of making men's court, when they are aſked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the ſtate of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to anſwer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flouriſhing condition, the rent and purchaſe of land every day increaſing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more ſincere in his repreſentations; beſides being looked on as not well affected, he is ſure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of ſecret, why theſe queſtions are ſo cordially aſked, or ſo obligingly anſwered.

BUT ſince with regard to the affairs of this kingdom I have been uſing all endeavours to ſubdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any perſonal intereſt, not being the owner of one ſpot of ground in the whole iſland; I ſhall only enumerate by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich; and then examine what effects ariſe from thoſe cauſes in the kingdom of Ireland.

THE firſt cauſe of a kingdom's thriving, is, the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil to produce the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life; not only ſufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

THE ſecond is, the induſtry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the laſt degree of manufacture.

THE third is, the conveniency of ſafe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in thoſe of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

THE fourth is, that the natives ſhould, as much as

poſſible, export and import their goods in veſſels of their own timber, made in their own country.

THE fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except thoſe, who are in war with their own prince or ſtate.

THE ſixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own conſent; for otherwiſe they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for juſtice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are ſo many grievous impoveriſhments.

THE ſeventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increaſing the number of their people; without which any country, however bleſſed by nature, muſt continue poor.

THE eighth is, the reſidence of the prince, or chief adminiſtrator of the civil power.

THE ninth is, the concourſe of foreigners for education, curioſity, or pleaſure; or as to a general mart of trade.

THE tenth is, by diſpoſing all offices of honour, profit or truſt, only to the natives; or at leaſt with very few exceptions, where ſtrangers have long inhabited the country, and are ſuppoſed to underſtand and regard the intereſt of it as their own.

THE eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are ſpent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

THE twelfth is, by the public revenue's being all ſpent and employed at home, except on the occaſions of a foreign war.

THE thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unleſs they find it for their own intereſt or conveniency, to receive any moneys, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

THE fourteenth is, a diſpoſition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they poſſibly can live conveniently without.

THERE are many other cauſes of a nation's thriving, which I at preſent cannot recollect: but without advantage

tage from at leaſt ſome of theſe, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to diſcover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine, what ſhare falls to Ireland of theſe cauſes, or of the effects and conſequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of ſmall importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a ſolitary houſe, far from help, is not wiſe in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; becauſe thoſe, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and braſs, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world, thoſe, who poſſeſs moſt wealth, make the leaſt parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing elſe to bear them out in ſhewing their faces on the exchange.

As to the firſt cauſe of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the ſoil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reaſon to complain; for, altho' the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bogg and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodneſs, and might with the ſame encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in ſome of which however we are only defective in point of ſkill and induſtry.

In the ſecond, which is the induſtry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of diſcouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath beſtowed ſo liberally on this kingdom, is of no more uſe to us, than a beautiful proſpect to a man ſhut up in a dungeon.

As to ſhipping of its own, Ireland is ſo utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within theſe fifty or ſixty years it can hardly be ſaid, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable houſe to dwell in, or one ſhip to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in antient or modern ſtory, which was denied the

liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleaſed, except to countries at war with their own prince or ſtate: yet this privilege, by the ſuperiority of mere power, is refuſed us in the moſt momentuous parts of commerce; beſides an act of navigation, to which we never conſented, pinned down upon us and rigorouſly executed; and a thouſand other unexampled circumſtances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the reſt.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey ſome laws we never conſented to; which is a condition I muſt not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed's ghoſt, with his *libertas et natale ſolum* *, written for a motto on his coach, as it ſtood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himſelf to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have phyſic ſent them by doctors at a diſtance, ſtrangers to their conſtitution and the nature of their diſeaſe; and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties; in all which we have likewiſe the honour to be diſtinguiſhed from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land; thoſe few, who attempt that or planting, thro' covetouſneſs or want of ſkill generally leave things worſe than they were; neither ſucceeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are ſo far from having a king to reſide among us, that even the viceroy is generally abſent four fifths of his time in the government.

No ſtrangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to ſee nothing but ſcenes of miſery and deſolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the leaſt title to any conſiderable employment; to which they are ſeldom preferred, but upon a political conſideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is ſpent in England; which, with the profit of employments, penſions, appeals,

* *Liberty and my native country.*

appeals; journies of pleaſure or health, education at the inns of court, and both univerſities, remittances at pleaſure, the pay of all ſuperior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, ſilver, or even copper. In the iſle of Man they coin their own ſilver. Every petty prince, vaſſal to the Emperor, can coin what money he pleaſeth. And in this, as in moſt of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other ſtates or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the laſt or fourteenth article, we take ſpecial care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole courſe of our lives. Both ſexes, but eſpecially the women, deſpiſe and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even thoſe which are better made than in other countries; particularly a ſort of ſilk plaid, thro' which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread that it may paſs for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more, than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could eaſily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what ſecret method it is, that we grow a rich and flouriſhing people without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining; without induſtry, labour, or improvement of land; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a ſingle farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade caſual, corrupted and at mercy; and ſome butter from Cork. If we do flouriſh, it muſt be againſt every law of nature and reaſon; like the thorn at Glaſtenbury, that bloſſoms in the midſt of winter.

Let the worthy commiſſioners, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and obſerve the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country ſeats; the commodious farmers houſes and barns; the towns and

villages, where every body is buſy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the ſhops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with cuſtomers; the comfortable diet and dreſs, and dwellings of the people; the vaſt numbers of ſhips in our harbours and docks, and ſhipwrights in our ſea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourſe to and fro of pompous equipages.

WITH what envy and admiration would thoſe gentlemen return from ſo delightful a progreſs; what glorious reports would they make when they went back to England?

BUT my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for it is manifeſt, that whatever ſtranger took ſuch a journey, would be apt to think himſelf travelling in Lapland or Yſland, rather than in a country ſo favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulneſs of ſoil, and temperature of climate. The miſerable dreſs, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general deſolation in moſt parts of the kingdom; the old ſeats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their ſtead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and naſtineſs upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a ſhoe or ſtocking to their feet, or a houſe ſo convenient as an Engliſh hog-ſty to receive them. Theſe indeed may be comfortable ſights to an Engliſh ſpectator; who comes for a ſhort time, only *to learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth tranſmitted.

Noſtra miſeria magna eſt.

THERE is not one argument uſed to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonſtration of its poverty. The riſe of our rents is ſqueezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worſe than Engliſh beggars. The lowneſs of intereſt, in all other countries a ſign of wealth, is in us a proof of miſery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearneſs of land, ſince the ſavers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearneſs of neceſſaries for life: becauſe

the

the tenants cannot afford to pay ſuch extravagant rates for land, (which they muſt take or go a begging) without raiſing the price of cattle, and of corn, altho' themſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our increaſe of buildings in this city; becauſe workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increaſe of *bankers*; who may be a neceſſary evil in a trading country, but ſo ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage have ſent away all our ſilver, and one third of our gold; ſo that within three years paſt the running caſh of the nation, which was about five hundred thouſand pounds, is now leſs than two, and muſt daily diminiſh, unleſs we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the iſle of Man, and the meaneſt principality in the German empire, as I before obſerved.

I have ſometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to thoſe worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except ſome cuſtom-houſe officers, birds of paſſage, oppreſſive thrifty 'ſquires, and a few others who ſhall be nameleſs, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wiſhed, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpoſe at leaſt ſome ſhort delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, anſwered Pharaoh to the Iſraelites, when they complained to his Majeſty, that they were forced to make bricks without ſtraw.

ENGLAND enjoys every one of thoſe advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year, without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our ſide: but how long we ſhall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the leaſt concern. One thing I know, that "when the hen is ſtarved to "death, there will be no more golden eggs."

I think it a little inhoſpitable, and others may call it a ſubtle piece of malice, that becauſe there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their Engliſh friends in a generous manner at their tables, their gueſts upon their return to England ſhall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

YE-

YET, I confeſs, I have known an hoſpital, where all the houſhold officers grew rich; while the poor, for whoſe ſake it was built, were almoſt ſtarving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude, if Ireland be a rich and flouriſhing kingdom, its wealth and proſperity muſt be owing to certain cauſes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally inviſible. We need not wonder at ſtrangers, when they deliver ſuch paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the ſame verdict, muſt be either ignorant to ſtupidity, or a man-pleaſer at the expence of all honour, conſcience, and truth *.

An

* The preſent ſtate of Ireland ‡ is, in general, as flouriſhing as poſſible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and ſciences are encouraged: and in the ſpace of eighteen years, which is almoſt the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation of England, may be compared to a younger ſiſter lately come of age, after having ſuffered all the miſeries of an injured minor, ſuch as law-ſuits, incroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, deſtruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length, time, and her own noble ſpirit of induſtry, have entirely relieved her, and, ſome little heart-burnings excepted, ſhe enjoys the quiet poſſeſſion of a very ample fortune, ſubject, by way of acknowledgement, to certain quit-rents, payable to the elder branch of her houſe. *Take her all in all*, ſhe cannot have a greater fortune than ſhe deſerves. *Orrery.*

‡ 1752.

An ANSWER to a Paper, called *A Memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradeſmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland.*

[Written in the year 1728.]

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and ſent, I ſuppoſe, to me among others without any particular diſtinction. It contains a complaint of the dearneſs of corn; and ſome ſchemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a ſhort hiſtory of the ſteps by which we arrived at this hopeful ſituation.

It was indeed the ſhameful practice of too many Iriſh farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while either thro' poverty, lazineſs, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itſelf; and when their leaſes are near expiring, being aſſured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made ſuch havock, that many landlords were conſiderable ſufferers by it*.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers leaſes were ready to engroſs great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too eaſily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them ſecurity for payment. Thus, a vaſt tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers

* This practice probably produced the penal clauſes to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *Propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures*. *Hawkeſ.*

labourers in their ſeveral cabins, became all deſolate, and eaſily managed by one or two herdſmen and their boys; whereby the maſter-grazier with little trouble ſeized to himſelf the livelihood of a hundred people.

IT muſt be confeſſed, that the farmers were juſtly puniſhed for their knavery, brutality and folly. But neither are the ſquires and landlords to be excuſed; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vaſt number of beggars, and the ruin of thoſe few ſorry improvements we had.

THAT farmers ſhould be limited in ploughing, is very reaſonable, and practiſed in England; and might have eaſily been done here by penal clauſes in their leaſes: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a moſt ſtupid want of thinking.

HAD the farmers been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four laſt years of their leaſes, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have ſaved a million money; and been more populous by above two hundred thouſand ſouls.

FOR a people, denied the benefit of trade, to manage their lands in ſuch a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only ſuch things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an abſurdity that a wild Indian would be aſhamed of; eſpecially when we add, that we are content to purchaſe this hopeful commerce by ſending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

THE grazier's employment is to feed great flocks of ſheep, or black cattle, or both. With regard to ſheep, as folly is uſually accompanied with perverſeneſs, ſo it is here. There is ſomething ſo monſtrous to deal in a commodity, (further than for our own uſe) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to one certain country, and only to ſome few ports in that country; there is, I ſay, ſomething ſo ſottiſh, that it wants a name in our language to expreſs it by: and the good of it is, that the more ſheep we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool, or eat the fleſh. Ajax was mad, when he miſtook a flock

of

of ſheep for his enemies: but we ſhall never be ſober, until we have the ſame way of thinking.

THE other part of the grazier's buſineſs is what we call black cattle, producing hides, tallow, and beef for exportation: all which are good and uſeful commodities, if rightly managed. But it ſeems, the greateſt part of the hides are ſent out raw for want of bark to tan them; and that want will daily grow ſtronger: for, I doubt, the new project of tanning without it is at an end. Our beef, I am afraid, ſtill continues ſcandalous in foreign markets for the old reaſons. But our tallow, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to beſtow the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people, who ſhould eat their ſhare, and force the reſt to ſend ſometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a moſt peculiar and diſtinguiſhed piece of public œconomy, of which I have no comprehenſion.

I know very well that our anceſtors the Scythians, and their poſterity our kinſmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood and milk and raw fleſh of their cattle, without one grain of corn; but I confeſs myſelf ſo degenerate, that I am not eaſy without bread to my victuals.

WHAT amazed me for a week or two, was to ſee, in this prodigious plenty of cattle, and dearth of human creatures, and want of bread, as well as money to buy it, that all kind of fleſh-meat ſhould be monſtrouſly dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not ſome regulation in the price of fleſh, as well as bread: but I imagine myſelf to have gueſſed out the reaſon: in ſhort, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is over-ſtocked with cattle, both black and white: and as it is obſerved, that the poor Iriſh have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat; altho' with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; ſo I conceive it much more difficult at preſent to find a fat bullock or weather, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am aſſured, that the diſtrict in the ſeveral markets, called carrion-row, is as reaſonable as the poor can deſire; only the circumſtance of money to purchaſe it, and of trade, or labour, to purchaſe that money, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now,

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thouſand barrels of wheat, you ſay, ſhould be imported hither; and ten thouſand pounds præmium to the importers. Have you looked into the purſe of the nation? I am no commiſſioner of the treaſury; but am well aſſured, that the whole running caſh would not ſupply you with a ſum to purchaſe ſo much corn, which, only at twenty ſhillings a barrel, will be a hundred thouſand pounds; and ten thouſand more for the præmium. But you will traffic for your corn with other goods: and where are thoſe goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of abſentees, and other occaſions in London, beſides a huge balance of trade this year againſt us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I ſuppoſe, they will value it at little more than ſo much a quire. Where are theſe rich farmers and ingroſſers of corn, in ſo bad a year, and ſo little ſowing?

You are in pain for two ſhillings præmium, and forget the twenty ſhillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your ſcheme for a tax for raiſing ſuch a ſum is all viſionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the miſerable ſtate of this nation. Tea, coffee, ſugar, ſpices, wine, and foreign cloaths, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax ſhould be raiſed. I will allow the two firſt, becauſe they are unwholeſome; and the laſt, becauſe I ſhould be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our miſery; or give your tenants leave to plough for barley. But I will tell you a ſecret, which I learned many years ago from the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in London: they ſaid, when any commodity appeared to be taxed above a moderate rate, the conſequence was to leſſen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of thoſe gentlemen pleaſantly told me, that the miſtake of parliaments on ſuch occaſions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas in the buſineſs of laying heavy impoſitions two and two never made more than one; which happens by leſſening the import, and the ſtrong temptation of running ſuch goods as paid high duties, at leaſt in this kingdom. Altho'

the

the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine; yet the number of both, who can afford such expences, is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than encreased. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet so preternatural a sum as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger) is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in England; which, as things now stand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprizing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were starving in a RICH country, *&c.* Are you in earnest? is Ireland the *rich country* you mean? or are you insulting our *poverty?* were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in England: but by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds by a tax upon a few commodities, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition; or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not to be raised here, without a general excise; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in taxes more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? most certainly not the poor, who will not be able to purchase the twentieth part of it.

SIR, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think, your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

IF you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in potatoes and buttermilk, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and, I think, if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of justice as well as charity. In the mean time go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring

ſquires to do the ſame with theirs; or elſe die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and ſtarving the reſt. For as to your ſcheme of raiſing one hundred and ten thouſand pounds, it is as vain as that of Rabelais; which was to ſqueeze out wind from the poſteriors of a dead aſs.

BUT, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thouſands of their leaders, and ſeek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the buſineſs of fifty, and you may ſend away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of huſbandry, never known or practiſed by the wiſeſt nations, who erroneouſly thought people to be the riches of a country.

IF ſo wretched a ſtate of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleaſure, after all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for ſeveral years paſt, to ſee the conſequences and events anſwering in every particular. I pretend to no ſagacity: what I writ was little more than what I had diſcourſed to ſeveral perſons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common underſtanding, that ſuch effects muſt needs follow from ſuch cauſes. A fair iſſue of things begun upon party rage, while ſome ſacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a ſpirit of faction and oppreſſion reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, inſtead of conſulting the eaſe of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *Whig* and *Tory*, of *high church* and *low church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controverſy of *ſtrops for razors* *: while agriculture was wholly diſcouraged, and conſequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradeſmen, forced to beggary or baniſhment: *Wiſdom crieth in the ſtreets; becauſe I have called on you; I have ſtretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have ſet at nought all my counſels, and would none of my reproof.*

I

* A piece of leather paſted on wood to be uſed with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which ſeveral competitors eagerly contended. *Hawkeſ.*

I alſo will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuſe your miſtakes, ſince you appear to write as a ſtranger, and as of a country, which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the beſt of thoſe advantages which God hath given it in ſoil, climate, and ſituation.

But having lately ſent out a paper, intitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that ſome people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed with an appearance of ſeverity: ſince I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myſelf in that particular, I chuſe to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *poſtulatum*, which I ſuppoſe will be univerſally granted, that no little creature of ſo mean a birth and genius had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I anſwer thus; whether there be two different goddeſſes called *Fame*, as ſome authors contend, or only one goddeſs ſounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people diſtinguiſhed for their villainy have as good a title to a blaſt from the proper trumpet, as thoſe who are moſt renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reaſon to complain if it be refuſed them. And accordingly the names of the moſt celebrated profligates have been faithfully tranſmitted down to poſterity. And altho' the perſon here underſtood acted his part in an obſcure corner of the world; yet his talents might have ſhone with luſtre enough in the nobleſt ſcene.

As to my naming a perſon dead, the plain honeſt reaſon is the beſt. He was armed with power and will to do miſchief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his proſecuting two printers one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the King, nor him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is ſafe. For theſe excellent caſuiſts know juſt Latin enough to

have heard a moſt fooliſh precept, that *de mortuis nil niſi bonum*; ſo that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuſer *, had happened to die together, the charity of ſurvivors muſt either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the ſame character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the leaſt doubt remains whether the accuſation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and loſt to all ſhame, they have no reaſon to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwiſe publiſheth any thing, which it is poſſible may be falſe, that man is a ſlanderer; *hic niger eſt, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the leaſt miſrepreſentation, or aggravation of facts, deſerves the ſame cenſure in ſome degree: but in this caſe I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the ſide of extenuation.

I have now preſent before me the idea of ſome perſons, (I know not in what part of the world) who ſpend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they ſleep) in the moſt deteſtable actions and deſigns; who delight in miſchief, ſcandal, and obloquy, with the hatred and contempt of all mankind againſt them; but chiefly of thoſe among their own party, and their own family; ſuch, whoſe odious qualities rival each other for perfection; avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noiſe, impudence, dulneſs, ignorance, vanity, and revenge, contending every moment for ſuperiority in their breaſts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or ſafe to attempt a reformation. Yet, altho' their memories will rot, there may be ſome benefit for their ſurvivors, to ſmell it while it is rotting.

I am, SIR,

your humble ſervant,

Dublin, March 25. 1728.

A. B.

A Vin-

* Anytus, one of the wretches who accuſed Socrates of condemning the gods, and endeavouring to ſubvert the religion of his country. *Hawkeſ.*

A VINDICATION of his Excellency JOHN Lord CARTERET, from the charge of favouring none but *Tories, High church-men and Jacobites*†.

[Written in the year 1730.]

IN order to treat this important ſubject with the greateſt fairneſs and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give ſome account of his Excellency; in whoſe life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very juſt ſuſpicion of ſome truth in the accuſation he lies under.

HE is deſcended from two noble, ancient and moſt loyal families, the Carterets, and the Granvilles: too much diſtinguiſhed, I confeſs, for what they acted, and what they ſuffered in defending the former conſtitution in church and ſtate under King Charles the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whoſe martyrdom a form of prayer, with faſting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be uſed on the 30th day of *January* every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that ſa-

† The view of this piece ſeems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance. *Hawkeſ.*

In this piece the failings of the noble Lord, ariſing from the prejudices of great talents and a learned education, are finely diſplayed with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed, there is couched here abundance of ſatire. Piſtorides, that poor, angry, buſtling mortal, he treats with all imaginable contempt: but in his ſatire againſt Traulus he ſpares not to draw blood at every ſtroke; the former part of which is bitterly ſarcaſtic, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His account of Ageſilaus being caught by the parſon of the pariſh riding on a hobby-horſe with his children, and ſome other touches of the like ſort, are truly diverting. D. *Swift.*

cred and innocent blood might not be viſited on us or our poſterity; as we may read at large in our common-prayer books; which day hath been ſolemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His Excellency the preſent Lord was educated in the univerſity of Oxford; from whence, with a ſingularity ſcarce to be juſtified, he carried away more Greek, Latin and philoſophy, than properly became a perſon of his rank; indeed much more of each than moſt of thoſe who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unneceſſary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he ſplit on upon his firſt appearance in the world, and having juſt got clear of his guardians. For as ſoon as he came to town, ſome biſhops, and clergy-men, and other perſons moſt eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom altho' he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the ſtain, nor waſh out the tincture of his univerſity acquirements and diſpoſitions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleaſed God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehenſion, eloquence, and wit: and, to finiſh the work, all theſe were fortified even in his youth with the advantages received by ſuch employments, as are beſt fitted both to exerciſe and poliſh the gifts of nature and education, having been ambaſſador in ſeveral courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal ſecretary of ſtate at a period, when, according to cuſtom, he ought to have been buſied in loſing his money at a chocolate-houſe; or in other amuſements equally laudable and epidemic among perſons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak ſide in his Excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dreſſing-room, if it were carefully ſearched; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome of the ſaid books have been privately conveyed to him by Tory hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the ſaid books, even in the midſt of a ſeſſion, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I

I own, there may be ſome grounds for this charge; becauſe I have it from good hands, that when his Excellency is at dinner with one or two ſcholars at his elbows, he grows a moſt unſupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his Excellency lies under another very great diſadvantage. For with all the accompliſhments above mentioned, adding that of a moſt comely and graceful perſon, and during the prime of youth, ſpirits, and vigour, he hath in a moſt unexemplary manner led a regular domeſtic life; diſcovers a great eſteem, and friendſhip, and love for his Lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is diſpoſed to admit an entertaining evening-companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the perſon may poſſibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a Tory; nor at ſuch times do the natural or affected fears of Popery and the Pretender make any part of the converſation: I preſume, becauſe neither Homer, Plato, Ariſtotle, or Cicero, have made any mention of them.

THESE I freely acknowledge to be his Excellency's failings: yet, I think it is agreed by philoſophers and divines, that ſome allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my ſentiments differ from the Orthodox opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Piſtorides. For theſe have decided the matter directly againſt me by declaring, that no perſon, who was ever known to lie under the ſuſpicion of one ſingly *tory* principle, or who had been once ſeen at a great man's levee in the *worſt of times* *, ſhould be allowed to come within the verge of the caſtle; much leſs to bow in the anti-chamber, appear at the aſſemblies, or dance at a birth night. However I dare aſſert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that, on the contrary, a conſiderable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are now an ornament, happineſs, and ſupport to the nation.

NEITHER do I find any murmuring on ſome other points of

* The three laſt years of Queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was miniſter, were ſo called by the Whigs. *Hawkeſ.*

of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

To inſtance only in one. I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to diſcover whether madam * Violante be a Whig or Tory in her principles; or even that ſhe hath ever been offered the oaths to the government: on the contrary, I am told, that ſhe openly profeſſeth herſelf to be a *high-flyer*; and it is not improbable, by her outlandiſh name, ſhe may alſo be a Papiſt in her heart; yet we ſee this illuſtrious and dangerous female openly careſſed by principal perſons of both parties; who contribute to ſupport her in a ſplendid manner, without the leaſt apprehenſions from a grand-jury, or even from 'ſquire Hartley Hutcheſon himſelf, that zealous proſecutor of hawkers and libels. And as Hobbes wiſely obſerves, *ſo much money* being equivalent to *ſo much power*, it may deſerve conſidering, with what ſafety ſuch an inſtrument of *power* ought to be truſted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal ſecurity for her good affection to the government.

I confeſs, there is one evil which I could wiſh our friends would think proper to redreſs. There are many Whigs in this kingdom of the old-faſhioned ſtamp, of whom we might make very good uſe; they bear the ſame loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family, in the perſon of King George II.; the ſame abhorrence of the Pretender, with the conſequences of popery and ſlavery, and the ſame indulgence to tender conſciences: but having nothing to aſk for themſelves, and therefore the more leiſure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy proſpects concerning the ſtate of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miſerable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both Whig and Tory: who, if they have any thing to loſe, muſt be equally ſufferers. Perhaps, one or two of theſe melancholy gentlemen will ſometimes venture to publiſh their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our uſual cuſtom of curſing and railing at this ſpecies

* A famous Italian rope-dancer.

ſpecies of thinkers, under the names of *Tories*, *Jacobites*, *Papiſts*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

THIS was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, buſtling, well-meaning mortal, Piſtorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one ſide, and of *averſion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, peſtered and pounded by one ſingle wag, who promiſeth never to forſake him, living or dead?

I was much pleaſed with the humour of a *ſurgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehenſion, received ſome great injuſtice from the Earl of Galway, and deſpairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had ſet apart one hundred guineas to purchaſe the Earl's carcaſe from the ſexton, whenever *it* ſhould die, to make a ſkeleton of the bones, ſtuff the hide, and ſhew them for three-pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had ſuffered by its owner.

OF the like ſpirit too often is that implacable race of wits; againſt whom there is no defence but innocence, and philoſophy: neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to down-right ſtupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and ſhame.

I am therefore ſorry for that other miſerable creature Traulus; who, altho' of ſomewhat a different ſpecies, yet ſeems very far to outdo even the genius of Piſtorides in that miſcarrying talent of railing without conſiſtency or diſcretion againſt the moſt innocent perſons, according to the preſent ſituation of his gall and ſpleen. I do not blame an *honeſt* gentleman for the bittereſt invectives againſt one to whom he profeſſeth the greateſt friendſhip; provided he acts in the dark, ſo as not to be diſcovered: but in the midſt of careſſes, viſits, and invitations, to run into the ſtreets, or to as public a place, and without the leaſt pretended incitement ſputter out the baſeſt and falſeſt accuſations; then to wipe his mouth, come up ſmiling to his friend, ſhake him by the hand, and tell him in a whiſper, it was all for his ſervice: this proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid leſt ſuch a practitioner, with a body ſo open;

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ſo foul and ſo full of ſores, may fall under the reſentment of an incenſed political *ſurgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation; who without waiting for his death, will flay and diſſect him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the diſordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and ſpots and flatus's of his ſpleen: and all this for three-pence.

In ſuch a caſe what a ſcene would be laid open! and to drop my metaphor, what a character of our miſtaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expoſe! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies ſo inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame breaſt: furious and fawning, ſcurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, inſolent and abject; moſt profligately falſe, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity; poſitive and variable, tyrannical and ſlaviſh.

I apprehend, that if all this ſhould be ſet out to the world by an angry Whig of the old ſtamp, the unavoidable conſequence muſt be a confinement of our friend for ſome months more to his garret; and thereby depriving the public for ſo long time, and in ſo important a juncture, of his uſeful talents in their ſervice, while he is fed like a wild beaſt thro' a hole; but I hope with a ſpecial regard to the quantity and quality of his nouriſhment.

In vain would his excuſers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madneſs; becauſe it is well known, that madneſs only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil diſpoſitions of the mind. For the curators of Bedlam aſſure us, that ſome lunatics are perſons of honour, truth, benevolence, and many other virtues, which appear in their higheſt ravings, altho' after a wild incoherent manner; while others on the contrary diſcover in every word and action the utmoſt baſeneſs and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they poſſeſſed in the ſame degree, altho' perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that academy.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuſe the overflowings of that zeal which our friend ſhews or means for our cauſe. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the "eaſy and ſmooth fluency of his "elocution, beſtowed on him by nature, and cultivated by "continual

"continual practice, added to the comelineſs of his perſon, "the harmony of his voice, the gracefulneſs of his manner, "and the decency of his dreſs," are temptations too ſtrong for ſuch a genius to reſiſt upon any public occaſion of making them appear with univerſal applauſe. And if good men are ſometimes accuſed of loving their jeſt better than their friend; ſurely to gain the reputation of the firſt orator in the kingdom, no man of ſpirit would ſcruple to loſe all the friends he had in the world.

It is uſual for maſters to make their boys declaim on both ſides of an argument; and as ſome kinds of aſſemblies are called the *ſchools of politics*, I confeſs nothing can better improve political ſchool-boys, than the art of making plauſible or implauſible harangues againſt the very opinion, for which they reſolve to determine.

So Cardinal Perron, after having ſpoke for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the exiſtence of God, told ſome of his intimates, that he could have ſpoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reaſoning in the ſtrongeſt light, that I think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader ſhall pleaſe, it hath conſtantly met with ill ſucceſs in the mouth of our friend; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I ſuſpend my judgment.

To return from this long digreſſion; if perſons in high ſtations have been allowed to chuſe wenches without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the leaſt reflection on their loyalty, or their proteſtantiſm; ſhall the chief governor of a great kingdom be cenſured for chuſing a companion, who may formerly have been ſuſpected for differing from the orthodox in ſome ſpeculative opinions of perſons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a ſound Whig?

But let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible caſe. Here is a perſon ſent to govern Ireland, whoſe unfortunate weak ſide it happens to be, for ſeveral reaſons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of *one* or *two* gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their taſte, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his Majeſty, and pray heartily for him: yet becauſe they may perhaps be

be ſtigmatized as *quondam* Tories by Piſtorides and his gang, his Excellency muſt be forced to baniſh them under the pain and peril of diſpleaſing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worſe condition than every common good fellow, who may be a ſincere Proteſtant and a loyal ſubject, and yet rather chuſe to drink ſine ale at the Pope's head, than muddy at the King's.

Let me then return to my ſuppoſitions. It is certain, the high-flown loyaliſts in the preſent ſenſe of the word have their thoughts, and ſtudies, and tongues, ſo entirely diverted by political ſchemes, that the zeal of their principles hath eaten up their underſtandings; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuſe themſelves with philological converſe or ſpeculations, which are utterly ruinous to all ſchemes of riſing in the world. What then muſt a great man do, whoſe ill ſtars have fatally perverted him to a love, and taſte, and poſſeſſion of literature, politeneſs, and good ſenſe? our thorough-ſped republic of Whigs, which contains the bulk of all hopers, pretenders, expecters, and profeſſors, are beyond all doubt moſt highly uſeful to princes, to governors, to great miniſters, and to their country; but at the ſame time, and by neceſſary conſequence, the moſt diſagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his Excellency, and perhaps to five or ſix more in a nation.

I do not deny it poſſible, that an original or proſelyte favourite of the times might have been born to thoſe uſeleſs talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet, or a philoſopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, it ſweeps the houſe clean, and leaves room for many other ſpirits to take joint poſſeſſion, until the laſt ſtate of that man is exceedingly better than the firſt.

I allow it a great error in his Excellency, that he adheres ſo obſtinately to his old unfaſhionable academic education; yet ſo perverſe is human nature, that the uſual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a ſeſſion quote paſſages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table

to

to ſome book-learned companion without bluſhing, even when perſons of great ſtations are by.

I will venture one ſtep further; which is, freely to confeſs, that this miſtaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to ſpoil their politics and principles: becauſe the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them leſſons directly contrary in every point to the preſent practice of the world: and accordingly Hobbes moſt judiciouſly obſerves, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans made young men imbibe opinions againſt abſolute power in a prince, or even in a firſt miniſter, and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in theſe kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large eſtates have a weakneſs in their eyes, a tenderneſs in their conſtitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expreſſes it, could never take to their books, yet are well enough qualified to ſign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (rightly ſpelt) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets againſt religion and high-flying; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themſelves thro' the world with that dignity, which beſt becomes a ſenator and a 'ſquire.

I could heartily wiſh his Excellency would be more condeſcending to the genius of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the ſtation he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old Engliſh ſtory-books, that one Ageſilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I ſpell the name right or wrong) was caught by the parſon of the pariſh riding on a hobby-horſe with his children; that Socrates a heathen philoſopher was found dancing by himſelf at fourſcore; that a king called Cæſar Auguſtus (or ſome ſuch name) uſed to play with boys, whereof ſome might poſſibly be ſons of Tories; and that two great men called Scipio and Lelius, (I forget their chriſtian names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duke* and *drake* with ſmooth ſtones on a river. Now I ſay, if theſe facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine why our moſt zealous patriots may not a little indulge his Excellency in an infirmity,

which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public ſcandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I ſay, why he may not be indulged twice a week to converſe with one or two particular perſons; and let him and them conn over their old exploded readings together, after mornings ſpent in hearing and preſcribing ways and means from and to his moſt obedient politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; altho' the ſaid particular perſon or perſons, may not have made ſo public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the buſineſs of the nation requires: ſtill ſubmitting my opinion to that happy majority, which I am confident is always in the right; by whom the liberty of the ſubject hath been ſo frequently, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully aſſerted; who by their wiſe counſels have made commerce to flouriſh, money to abound, inhabitants to increaſe, the value of lands and rents to riſe; and the whole iſland put on a new face of plenty and proſperity.

But, in order to clear his Excellency more fully from this accuſation of ſhewing his favours to high-flyers, Tories, and Jacobites, it will be neceſſary to come to particulars.

The firſt perſon of a Tory denomination, to whom his Excellency gave any marks of his favour, was Doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be obſerved, that this happened ſo early in his Excellency's government, as it may be juſtly ſuppoſed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon ſo dangerous an article. The Doctor being well known, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and ſucceſs in the education of youth beyond moſt of his profeſſion for many years paſt, was recommended to his Excellency on the ſcore of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it ſeems, his Excellency is a great admirer, altho' for what reaſons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his Lordſhip was too eaſily prevailed on by the Doctor's requeſt, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that unknown language by the Doctor's lads, which was written by ſome heathen author; but whether it contained any Tory or High-church principles, muſt be left to the conſciences of the boys, the Doctor, and his Excellency, the only

only witneſſes in this caſe, whoſe teſtimonies can be depended upon.

It ſeems, his Excellency (a thing never to be ſufficiently wondered at) was ſo pleaſed with his entertainment, that ſome time after he gave the Doctor a church-living to the value of almoſt one hundred pounds a-year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an antiquated notion, that good ſchool-maſters ought to be encouraged in every nation profeſſing civility and religion. Yet his Excellency did not venture to make this bold ſtep without ſtrong recommendations from perſons of undoubted principles fitted to the times; who thought themſelves bound in juſtice, honour, and gratitude, to do the Doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of thoſe of their friends. Yet the cataſtrophe was terrible; for the Doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude going down to take poſſeſſion of his pariſh, and furniſhed with a few led ſermons, whereof, as it is to be ſuppoſed, the number was very ſmall, having never ſerved a cure in the church; he ſtopt at Cork to attend on his biſhop; and going to church on the Sunday following, was according to the uſual civility of country clergymen invited by the miniſter of the pariſh to ſupply the pulpit. It happened to be the firſt of Auguſt; and the firſt of Auguſt happened that year to light upon a Sunday: and it happened that the Doctor's text was in theſe words; *ſufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and laſtly, it happened that ſome one perſon of the congregation, whoſe loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his Majeſty's perſon and government, when ſervice was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately ſent up to town; and by the zeal of one man, *of no large dimenſions of body or mind*, ſuch a clamour was raiſed, that we in Dublin could apprehend no leſs than an invaſion by the Pretender, who muſt be landed in the ſouth. The reſult was, that the Doctor muſt be ſtruck out of the chaplains liſt, and appear no more at the caſtle; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a Whig or a Tory, I think is a ſecret; only it is

* The firſt of Auguſt is the anniverſary of the Hanoverian family's acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. *Hawkeſ.*

manifeſt, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at leaſt in poetry, and a great admirer of the preſent royal family thro' all its branches. His friends likewiſe aſſert, that he had preached this ſermon often under the ſame text; that not having obſerved the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes; as he is a perſon a little abſtracted, he wanted preſence of mind to change them: and that in the whole ſermon there was not a ſyllable relating to government or party, or to the ſubject of the day.

In this incident there ſeems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is at leaſt like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they ſay can arrive but once in twenty thouſand years.

The ſecond gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who under the ſuſpicion of a Tory received ſome favour from his Excellency, is Mr James Stopford; very ſtrongly recommended by the moſt eminent Whig in England on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accompliſhments. He had paſſed the greateſt part of his youth in cloſe ſtudy, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leiſure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omiſſion, altho' I cannot honeſtly place him in the liſt of Tories: and therefore think his Excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglaſs, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is Doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under ſome diſadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain perſon *, then in a very high ſtation here; for which reaſon, I doubt the Doctor never drank his confuſion ſince, and what makes the matter deſperate, it is now too late; unleſs our inquiſitors will be content with drinking confuſion to his memory. The aforeſaid eminent perſon, who was a judge of all merit, except that of party, diſtinguiſhed the Doctor, among other juniors in our univerſity, for his learning, virtue, diſcretion, and good ſenſe. But the Doctor was

* Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland when Queen Anne died.

was then in too good a ſituation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better eſtabliſhment from one, who had no power to give it him.

UPON the preſent Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the Doctor was named to his Excellency by a *friend** among other clergy of diſtinction, as perſons whoſe characters it was proper his Excellency ſhould know; and by the truth of which the giver would be content to ſtand or fall in his Excellency's opinion; ſince not one of thoſe perſons were in particular friendſhip with the gentleman who gave in their names. By this, and ſome other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late Archbiſhop of Dublin, the Doctor became known to his Excellency, whoſe fatal turn of mind towards heatheniſh and outlandiſh books and languages, finding as I conceive a like diſpoſition in the Doctor, was the cauſe of his becoming ſo domeſtic, as we are told he is, at the caſtle of Dublin.

THREE or four years ago the Doctor grown weary of an academic life, for ſome reaſons beſt known to the managers of the diſcipline in that learned ſociety (which it may not be for their honour to mention) reſolved to leave it; altho', by the benefit of the pupils, and his ſenior fellowſhip, with all its perquiſites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thouſand pounds. And a ſmall northern living, in the univerſity's donation, of ſomewhat better than one hundred pounds a year falling at the ſame time with the chancellorſhip of Chriſt church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his Excellency; the Doctor ventured into the world in a very ſcanty condition; having ſquandred away all his annual income in a manner, which, altho' perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to diſcover either on the exchange, or at a banker's ſhop.

ABOUT two months ago, his Excellency gave the Doctor a prebend in St Patrick's cathedral; which being of near the ſame value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he ſhall have paid the great incumbrances upon it: ſo that he may now be ſaid to poſſeſs of church preferments in ſcattered tythes

* The author.

three hundred pounds a year; inſtead of the like ſum of infallible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip, with the offices annexed; beſide the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and ſome other eaſements.

But ſince the Doctor hath not in any of his writings, his ſermons, his actions, his diſcourſe, or his company, diſcovered one ſingle principle of either Whig or Tory; and that the Lord Lieutenant ſtill continues to admit him; I ſhall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new free-maſon, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the myſtery. Neither can he juſtly be accuſed of any Tory doctrines; except perhaps ſome among thoſe few, with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but have been ſince transferred for the moſt ſolid reaſons, to the whole body of our firmeſt friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and upon the ſtricteſt examination have not been able to find above one of that order, againſt whom any party ſuſpicion can lie; I mean the unfortunate gentleman Doctor Sheridan, who by mere chance-medley ſhot his own fortune dead with a ſingle text.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one perſon of the Tory ſtamp, who ſince the beginning of his Excellency's government did ever receive any ſolid mark of his favour: I mean Sir Arthur Acheſon, reported to be an acknowledged Tory; and, what is almoſt as bad, a ſcholar into the bargain. It is whiſpered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack * upon his eſtate within two miles of his own houſe; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of ſixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expence of about five hundred pounds to put the houſe in repair, build ſtables, and other neceſſaries. I will place this invidious mark of beneficence conferred on a Tory in a fair light, by computing the coſts and neceſſary defalcations: after which it may be ſeen how much Sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithſtanding

* See a poem upon this incident, intitled, *The grand queſtion debated*, &c. vol. vi.

ſtanding his unfortunate principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, &c. 500 *l.* the intereſt whereof *per annum* - - -	30	0	0
For all manner of poultry to furniſh the troopers, but which the ſaid troopers muſt be at the labour of catching, valued *per annum*	5	0	0
For ſtraggling ſheep - - -	8	0	0
For game deſtroyed five miles round	6	0	0
- - -	49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur - - -	60	0	0
Deduct - - - -	49	0	0
Remains clear - - -	11	0	0

THUS if Sir Arthur Acheſon ſhall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive net profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds ſterling to help him in entertaining the officers, and making proviſions for his younger children.

IT is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compenſate the loſs of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of good Proteſtants, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not ſo ſkilful in arithmetic, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal intereſt for the money that Sir Arthur muſt expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a ſaver at leaſt; which is a prodigious inſtance of moderation in our friends towards a profeſſed Tory, whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingneſs he hath ſhewn to make his Excellency uneaſy in his adminiſtration.

THUS I have, with the utmoſt impartiality, collected every ſingle favour (further than perſonal civilities) conferred by his Excellency on Tories, and reputed Tories, ſince his firſt arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in the

the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance poſſible to the arguments on the other ſide of the queſtion: and the account will ſtand thus:

Diſpoſed of preferments and employments to Tories, or reputed Tories, by his Excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the ſpace of ſix years:

To Doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory near Kinſale, *per annum* - - -	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheſon, Baronet, a barrack, *per annum* - - -	11 0 0
	111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in groſs the value of the favours done by his Excellency to the true friends of their King and country, and of the Proteſtant religion.

It is to be remembered, that, altho' his Excellency cannot be properly ſaid to beſtow biſhoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commiſſioner in the revenue, and ſome others; yet they are for the moſt part diſpoſed upon his recommendation, except where the perſons are immediately ſent from England by their intereſt at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the only conſiderable ſtation conferred on a Tory ſince his preſent Excellency's government was of this latter kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of conſequence more formidable) real Tories can often with much leſs difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their reputed brethren can arrive to the loweſt in ours. I obſerve this with all poſſible ſubmiſſion to the wiſdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, diſpute the praiſe of vigilance with ours.

WHIG Account.

To perſons promoted to biſhoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per annum*	10,050	0 0
To civil employments	9030	0 0
To military commands	8436	0 0
	27,516	0 0

TORY Account.

To Tories	111	0 0
Balance	27,405	0 0

I ſhall conclude with this obſervation, that, as I think the Tories have ſufficient reaſon to be fully ſatisfied with the ſhare of truſt, power, and employments, which they poſſeſs under the lenity of the preſent government; ſo, I do not find how his Excellency can be juſtly cenſured for favouring none but "high-church, high-flyers, ter-"magants, Laudiſts, Sacheverellians, tip-top-gallon-"men, Jacobites, tantivys, anti-hanoverians, friends to "popery and the Pretender and to arbitrary power, dif-"obligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, "inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public "incendiaries, enemies to the King and kingdoms, ha-"ters of TRUE proteſtants, laurel-men, Anniſts, com-"plainers of the nation's poverty, Ormondians, icono-"claſts, anti-glorious-memoriſts, anti-revolutioners, "white-roſaliſts, tenth-a-junians," and the like, when by a fair ſtate of the account, the balance, I conceive, ſeems to lie on the other ſide.

CONSI-

CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS ſent down from the right honourable the Houſe of LORDS to the honourable the Houſe of COMMONS in IRELAND, relating to the CLERGY †.

[Written in the year 1731.]

I Have often for above a month paſt deſired ſome few clergymen, who are pleaſed to viſit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by ſome of the biſhops, and both of them ſince paſſed in the houſe of Lords: but I could never obtain what I deſired, whether by the forgetfulneſs or negligence of thoſe whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itſelf. Therefore, if I ſhall happen to miſtake in any fact of conſequence, I deſire my remarks upon it may paſs for nothing: for my information is no better, than what I received in words from ſeveral divines, who ſeemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one ſingle Prelate of the kingdom; and am a ſtranger to their characters, further than as common fame reports them, which

† In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the houſe of Lords, by a great majority of the right reverend the Biſhops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and paſſed by the Lords in parliament. It was afterwards ſent to the houſe of Commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following conſiderations, who hath always been the beſt friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be ſeen by many parts of his writings, oppoſed this pernicious project with great ſucceſs; which, if it had paſſed into a law, would have been of the worſt conſequence to this nation. *Dub. edit.* 1738.

which is not to be depended on; therefore I cannot be ſuppoſed to act upon a principle of reſentment. I eſteem their functions (if I may be allowed to ſay ſo without offence) as truly *apoſtolical*, and abſolutely neceſſary to the perfection of a Chriſtian church.

THERE are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or inſenſibility for other men's ſufferings, and a ſudden forgetfulneſs of their own former humble ſtate, when they riſe in the world. Theſe two diſpoſitions have not, I think, any where ſo ſtrongly exerted themſelves, as in the order of biſhops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reaſons, but ſuch as naturally ſhould ſeem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a moſt miſerable race of beggarly farmers; at whoſe mercy every miniſter lies to be defrauded. His office as rector, or vicar, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As ſoon as he is promoted to a biſhopric, the ſcene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as ſurely paid as thoſe of the king; his whole buſineſs is once a year to receive the attendance, the ſubmiſſion, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the dioceſe he ſhall pleaſe to think moſt convenient for himſelf. Neither is his perſonal preſence neceſſary, for the buſineſs may be done by a vicar general. The fatigue of ordination is juſt what the biſhops pleaſe to make it; and as matters have been for ſome time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The reſt of their viſible office conſiſts in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and beſtowing preferments in their own gift; in which laſt employment, and in their ſpiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their vicars-general, ſecretaries, proctors, apparitors, ſeneſchals, and the like. Now, I ſay, in ſo quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their ſubjects, it would be reaſonable at leaſt to hope that the labour, confinement, and ſubjection, from which they have ſo lately eſcaped, like a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler, might a little incline them to remember the condition of thoſe who were but laſt week their equals, probably their companions

companions or their friends, and poſſibly as reaſonable expectants. There is a known ſtory of colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a ſubaltern officer, was every day complaining againſt the pride, oppreſſion, and hard treatment of colonels towards their officers; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commiſſion for a regiment, walking with a friend on the Mall, he confeſſed that the ſpirit of colonelſhip was coming faſt upon him, which ſpirit is ſaid to have daily increaſed to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to biſhoprics, have always ſome great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, ſtrong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a ſuperlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at firſt no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain chriſtian names among their old companions, the middling rate of clergymen; nor could therefore be ſtrangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it ſo ſoon, as it hath too often happened.

I confeſs, I do not remember to have obſerved any body of men acting with ſo little concert, as our clergy have done in a point, where there opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal ſupport was concerned, as well as their power of ſerving God and his church in their ſpiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of diſobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; becauſe it was obſerved, that ſome who appeared at firſt with the greateſt zeal, thought fit ſuddenly to abſent themſelves from the uſual meetings: yet we know, what expert ſolicitors the Quakers, the Diſſenters, and even the Papiſts have ſometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not ſeen any extract from the two bills introduced by the biſhops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon ſome failure in favour, or through the timorouſneſs of many among their brethren, were refuſed to be heard by the council. It ſeems, theſe bills were both returned, agreed to by the King and council in England, and the houſe of Lords hath with great expedition

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paſſed them both; and it is ſaid, they are immediately to be ſent down to the commons for their conſent.

THE particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

BY one of the bills, the biſhops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a manſion-houſe upon whatever part of their glebes their Lordſhips ſhall command; and if the living be above 50 *l.* a year, the miniſter is bound to build after three years a houſe that ſhall coſt one year and a half's rent of his income. For inſtance, if a clergyman with a wife and ſeven children gets a living of 55 *l. per annum*, he muſt after three years build a houſe that ſhall coſt 77 *l.* 10*s.* and muſt ſupport his family, during the time the biſhop ſhall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50 *l.* a year, the miniſter ſhall be allowed 100 *l.* out of the firſt fruits.

BUT there is ſaid to be one circumſtance a little extraordinary; that if there be a ſingle ſpot in the glebe more barren, more marſhy, more expoſed to the winds, more diſtant from the church or ſkeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector, or vicar may be obliged by the caprice or pique of the biſhop, to build, under pain of ſequeſtration (an office, which ever falls into the moſt knaviſh hands) upon whatever point his Lordſhip ſhall command; altho' the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle muſt increaſe for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in Ireland, reputed to poſſeſs a pariſh of 100 *l. per annum*, who for ſome years paſt have actually received 60 *l.* and that with the utmoſt difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loſs, what kind of valuators the biſhops will make uſe of; and whether the ſtarving vicar ſhall be forced to build his houſe with the money he never received.

THE other bill, which paſſed in two days after the former, is ſaid to concern the diviſion of pariſhes into as many parcels as the biſhop ſhall think fit, only leaving 300 *l.* a year to the mother church; which 300 *l.* by another act paſſed ſome years ago they can divide likewiſe, and crumble as low as their will and pleaſure will diſpoſe

them. So that inſtead of ſix hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the uſual computation, we may have in a ſmall compaſs of years almoſt as many thouſands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hoſpitality.

BUT it is very reaſonable to hope, and heartily to be wiſhed by all thoſe, who have the leaſt regard to our holy religion as hitherto eſtabliſhed, or to a learned, pious, diligent, converſable clergyman, or even to common humanity, that the honourable houſe of Commons will, in their great wiſdom, juſtice and tenderneſs to innocent men, conſider theſe bills in another light. It is ſaid, they well know this kingdom not to be ſo over ſtocked with neighbouring gentry, but a diſcreet learned clergyman, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a uſeful, and ſometimes a neceſſary companion. That, altho' ſuch a clergyman may not be able conſtantly to find beef and wine for his own family, yet he may be allowed ſometimes to afford both to a neighbour without diſtreſſing himſelf; and the rather, becauſe he may expect at leaſt as good a return. It will probably be conſidered, that in many deſolate parts there may not be always a ſufficient number of perſons conſiderable enough to be truſted with commiſſions of the peace, which ſeveral of the clergy now ſupply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate vicar from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the ſon of a weaver, pedlar, taylor, or miller, can be preſumed to do.

THE landlords and farmers by this ſcheme can find no profit, but will certainly be loſers. For inſtance, if the large northern livings be ſplit into a dozen pariſhes or more, it will be very neceſſary for the little threadbare gownman, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harveſt time for fear of loſing a ſingle ſheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's ſtarving: for, according to the Scotch proverb, *a hungry louſe bites ſore*. This would of neceſſity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious ſuits in the ſpiritual courts; and put the wretched paſtor at perpetual variance with his whole pariſh. But, as they have hitherto ſtood, a clergyman eſtabliſhed in a competent living is not under the neceſſity of being ſo ſharp, vigilant,

vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themſelves well treated, if they loſe only one ſingle third of their legal demands.

THE honourable houſe may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my Lords the Biſhops enjoy as ample a power both ſpiritual and temporal, as will fully ſuffice to anſwer every branch of their office; that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of thoſe clergymen, over whom they preſide; that, if non-reſidence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or cauſed the plurality. That, if the general impartial character of perſons choſen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill judgment, or perſonal favour regarded leſs, there would be fewer complaints of non-reſidence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of miſconduct; not to mention ignorance and ſtupidity.

I could name certain gentlemen of the gown, whoſe aukward, ſpruce, prim, ſneering, and ſmirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly ſtrut in their walk, without one ſingle talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of flattery and cringing: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, altho' they were my nephews, or had married my nieces, I could never in point of good conſcience or honour have recommended to a curacy in Connaught.

THE honourable houſe of Commons may likewiſe perhaps conſider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being leſs capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and, that moſt of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwiſe than by the church, in which there might be ſome hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons ſhould have ſettled their ſons, their nephews, their nieces, their dependents, and their followers invited over from the other ſide, there would ſtill remain an overplus of ſmaller church preferments to be given to ſuch clergy of the nation, who ſhall have their *quantum* of whatever

merit may be then in faſhion. But by theſe bills they will be all as abſolutely excluded, as if they had paſſed under the denomination of Tories; unleſs they can be contented at the utmoſt with 50*l.* a year; which by the difficulties of collecting tythes in Ireland, and the daily increaſing miſeries of the people, will hardly riſe to half that ſum.

IT is obſerved, that the divines ſent over hither to govern this church have not ſeemed to conſider the difference between both kingdoms with reſpect to the inferior clergy. As to themſelves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which conſequently muſt be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public diſtreſs ſo little affects their intereſts, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themſelves to ſuppoſe, that whatever a pariſh is ſaid to be worth, comes all into the parſon's pocket.

THE poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England hath been the continual complaint of all men, who wiſh well to the church, and many ſchemes have been thought on to redreſs it; yet an Engliſh vicar of 40*l.* a year lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally ſpeaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of antient ſtanding, filled every Lord's day with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themſelves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a houſe and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No gueſt expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honeſt plain farmer, as his wife is dreſſed but little better than *goody*. He is ſometimes graciouſly invited by the 'ſquire, where he ſits at an humble diſtance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little uſeful preſents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is uſually the ſon of ſome ordinary tradeſman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a ſize with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry ſervitor can be expected to bring with him from his college. It would be tedious to ſhew the reverſe of all this in our diſtant poor-

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er parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

LASTLY, the honourable house of Commons may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly clergymen through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for choosing parliament men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40 *s. per annum, ultra reprisas*) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their bishops. For by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my Lords the Bishops have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of ecclesiastical militants able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their wall lectures; and begin to doubt they must be contented with barns; which barns will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our true Protestant brethren, the Dissenters.

THE scheme of encouraging clergymen to build houses by dividing a living of 500*l.* a year into ten parts is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued, that bishops build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior clergy will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in England, who could never be persuaded to keep a servant out of livery; because such servants would be expensive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increase his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wise men, that before these bills pass both houses, they should be sent back to England with the following clauses inserted.

FIRST, that whereas there may be about a dozen double bishoprics in Ireland, those bishoprics should be split and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts,

as occaſion ſhall require; otherwiſe there may be a queſtion ſtarted, whether twenty two prelates can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of ſo great a number of ſpiritual ſubjects. But this propoſal will meet with ſuch furious objections, that I ſhall not inſiſt upon it: for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the frogs were in upon a report, that the ſun was going to marry.

ANOTHER clauſe ſhould be, that none of theſe twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be ſuffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared null, and their children baſtards: for ſome deſponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging ſo numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clauſe will be neceſſary, that theſe humble gentry ſhould be abſolutely diſqualified from giving votes in elections for parliament men.

OTHERS add a fourth; which is a clauſe of indulgence, that theſe reduced divines may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their ſpiritual offices: (for, unleſs I miſapprehend, they are ſuppoſed to have Epiſcopal ordination). For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaiſters for three miles round: they may get a diſpenſation to hold the clerkſhip and ſextonſhip of their own pariſh *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make ſhirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a barrack be near, for the ſoldiers: in linen countries they may card and ſpin, and keep a few looms in the houſe: they may let lodgings, and ſell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unleſs to ſober company, and at regular hours. It is by ſome thought a little hard, that in an affair of the laſt conſequence to the very being of the clergy in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the eſtabliſhed inſtructors of the nation in Chriſtianity and moral virtues, and are the only perſons concerned, ſhould be the ſole perſons not conſulted. Let any ſcholar ſhew the like precedent in Chriſtendom for twelve hundred years paſt. An act of parliament for ſettling or ſel-

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ling an eſtate in a private family is never paſſed, until all parties give conſent. But in the preſent caſe the whole body of the clergy is, as themſelves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or aſking their opinion; and this by a ſcheme contrived only by one part of the convocation, while the other part, which hath been choſen in the uſual forms, wants only the regal permiſſion to aſſemble, and conſult about the affairs of the church, as their predeceſſors have always done in former ages: where it is preſumed, the lower houſe hath a power of propoſing canons, and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (ſay theſe objectors) that there ſhould be a real ſeparate intereſt between the biſhops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a King and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

IT ſeems there is a proviſion in the bill, that no pariſh ſhall be cut into ſcraps without the conſent of ſeveral perſons, who can be no ſufferers in the matter: but I cannot find that the clergy lay much weight on this caution; becauſe they argue, that the very perſons from whom theſe bills took their riſe, will have the greateſt ſhare in the deciſion.

I do not by any means conceive the crying ſin of the clergy in this kingdom to be that of non-reſidence. I am ſure, it is many degrees leſs ſo here than in England; unleſs the poſſeſſion of pluralities may paſs under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it muſt be imputed: I believe, upon a fair inquiry (and I hear an inquiry is to be made) they will appear to be moſt pardonably few; eſpecially, conſidering how many pariſhes have not an inch of glebe, and how difficult it is upon any reaſonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my Lords the Biſhops will be ſoon able to convince the clergy, or thoſe who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their Lordſhips minds by procuring theſe bills was to prevent the ſin of non-reſidence; while the univerſal opinion of almoſt every clergyman in the kingdom, without diſtinction of party, taking in even thoſe who are not likely to be ſufferers, ſtands directly againſt them.

IF

If ſome livings in the north may be juſtly thought too large a compaſs of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remoteſt inhabitants to attend the ſervice of the church, which in ſome inſtances may be true, no reaſonable clergyman would oppoſe a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus for inſtance the deanry of Down, a country deanry I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of pariſhes joined together in a time, when the land lay waſte and thinly inhabited; ſince thoſe circumſtances are ſo prodigiouſly changed for the better, may properly be leſſened, leaving a decent competency to the dean, and placing rectories in the remaining churches, which are now ſerved only by ſtipendiary curates.

The caſe may be probably the ſame in other parts: and ſuch a proceeding diſcreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be obſerved, that the dean and chapter lands, which in England were all ſeized under the fanatic uſurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long raviſhed from the church by a ſucceſſion of confuſions, and tythes applied in their ſtead to ſupport that eccleſiaſtical dignity.

The late * Archbiſhop of Dublin had a very different way of encouraging the clergy of his dioceſe to reſidence: when a leaſe had run out ſeven years or more, he ſtipulated with the tenant to reſign up twenty or thirty acres to the miniſter of the pariſh where it lay convenient, without leſſening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the higheſt rates, leaving a ſmall chiefry for the miniſter to pay, hardly a ſixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almoſt every biſhop in the kingdom may do the ſame generous act with leſs damage to their ſees, than his late Grace of Dublin; much of whoſe lands were out in fee-farms, or leaſes for lives; and I am ſorry that the good example of ſuch a prelate hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the clergy's friends cannot hitherto reconcile themſelves to this project; which they call

* The Right Reverend Dr William King.

call a *levelling principle*, that muſt inevitably root out the ſeeds of all honeſt emulation, the legal parent of the greateſt virtue and moſt generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itſelf in the breaſt of any clergyman, whom this kingdom ſhall produce.

But, whether the conſequences of theſe bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future biſhops ſent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I ſhall not preſume to determine, ſince God can work the former out of the latter. However, one thing I can venture to aſſert, that from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of ſuch a proceeding, much leſs was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from ſuch hands in any chriſtian country; and ſo it may paſs for more than a phœnix; becauſe it hath riſen without any aſſiſtance from the aſhes of its fire.

The appearance of ſo many diſſenters at the hearing of this cauſe, is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; becauſe that action hath been cenſured as a mark of triumph and inſult before the victory is complete: ſince neither of theſe bills hath yet paſſed the houſe of Commons, and ſome are pleaſed to think it not impoſſible that they may be * rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clauſe in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or ſubdivided tythes towards increaſing the ſtipends of the ſectaries. So that theſe gentlemen ſeem to be gratified like him, who after having been kicked down ſtairs took comfort, when he ſaw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections againſt ſeveral particulars of both theſe bills; but they are of ſo high a nature, and carry ſuch dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, reſolving to give no offence, becauſe I well know how obnoxious I have long been (altho' I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles

* They were rejected in the houſe of Commons by a great majority. *Hawkeſ.*

principles of thoſe, who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the ſcore of diſaffection; whereof I am at leaſt as innocent as the loudeſt of my detractors.

Dublin, Feb. 24.
1731-2.

A PROPOSAL for an ACT of PARLIAMENT, to pay off the DEBT of the nation, without taxing the ſubject, by which the number of landed gentry will be conſiderably increaſed, and no perſon will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge *.

[Written in the year 1732.]

THE debts contracted ſome years paſt for the ſervice and ſafety of the nation are grown ſo great, that under our preſent diſtreſſed condition by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay abſentees, regiments ſerving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom ſeems altogether unable to diſcharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a poll or land tax would be too odious to think of, eſpecially the latter; becauſe the lands which have been let for theſe ten or dozen years paſt, were raiſed ſo high, that the owner can at preſent hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the uſual practice of an Iriſh tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that caſe he grows deſperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a land-tax upon a racked eſtate would be a burthen wholly inſupportable.

THE queſtion will then be, how theſe national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the ſeveral particulars of my propoſal; which I ſhall now lay open to the public.

THE revenues of their Graces and Lordſhips the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800 *l. per annum*, I mean the rents, which the biſhops receive from their

* The reader will perceive the following treatiſe to be altogether ironical.

their tenants. But the real value of thoſe lands at a full rent, taking the ſeveral ſees one with another, is reckoned to be at leaſt three fourths more; ſo that multiplying 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full rent of all the biſhops lands will amount to 147,200 *l. per ann.* from which ſubtracting the preſent rent received by their Lordſhips, that is 36,800 *l.* the profits of the lands received by the firſt and ſecond tenants, (who both have great bargains) will riſe to the ſum of 110,400 *l. per ann.*: which lands, if they were to be ſold at twenty two years purchaſe, would raiſe a ſum of 2,428,800 *l.* reſerving to the biſhops their preſent rents, only excluding fines.

Of this ſum I propoſe that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400 *l.* ſo much be applied, as will entirely diſcharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treaſury to ſupply contingencies, as well as to diſcharge ſome of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom ſhall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the preſent ſet of biſhops would be great loſers by this ſcheme for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to ſuch religious, loyal, and deſerving perſonages; I have therefore ſet apart the other half to ſupply that defect, which it will more than ſufficiently do.

A biſhop's leaſe for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchaſe; but if we take the biſhops round, I ſuppoſe there may be four years of each leaſe elapſed; and many of the biſhops being well ſtricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than ſeven years purchaſe; ſo that the purchaſers may very well afford fifteen years purchaſe for the reverſion, eſpecially by one great additional advantage, which I ſhall ſoon mention.

This ſum of 2,428,800*l.* muſt likewiſe be ſunk very conſiderably; becauſe the lands are to be ſold only at fifteen years purchaſe, and this leſſens the ſum to about 1,656,000 *l.* of which I propoſe twelve hundred thouſand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 *l.* I propoſe as a fund for paying the preſent ſet of biſhops their fines; which it will abundantly

bundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public ſtock.

ALTHO' the biſhops round do not in reality receive three fines a-piece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be ſo; but then I will ſuppoſe them to take but one year's rent in recompence of giving them ſo large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 *l.* ſo that above three fourths will remain to be applied to public uſe.

IF I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excuſed as a ſtranger to the kingdom; which I never ſaw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to paſs the reſt of my days; but I took care to get the beſt informations I could, and from the moſt proper perſons; however the miſtakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my propoſal; altho' they ſhould cauſe a difference of one hundred thouſand pounds more or leſs.

THESE fines are only to be paid to the biſhop during his incumbency in the ſame ſee: if he change it for a better, the purchaſers of the vacant ſee lands are to come immediately into poſſeſſion of the ſee he hath left; and both the biſhop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed biſhop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other ſee will find candidates enough. For the law maxim will here have place, *caveat emptor*; I mean, the perſons who ſucceed may chuſe whether they will accept or no.

AS to the purchaſers, they will probably be tenants to the ſee, who are already in poſſeſſion, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myſelf. If a perſon already a biſhop be removed into a richer ſee, he muſt be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and ſo muſt he, who comes into a biſhopric vacant by death; and this will bring the matter ſooner to bear; which, if the crown ſhall think fit to countenance, will ſoon change the preſent ſet of biſhops; and conſequently encourage purchaſers of their lands. For example: if a primate ſhould die, and the gradation be wiſely made, almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, altho' no fines were to be got; and

thereby ſave a great part of that ſum, which I have appropriated towards ſupplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the biſhops lands two years purchaſe above the uſual computed rate, becauſe thoſe lands will have a ſanction from the King and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of Parliament here: beſides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worſe lands, at the remoteſt diſtances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occaſioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to diſpoſe of it, but in buying of land; which conſequently makes the owners hold it ſo high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the ſale of theſe lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will conſiderably increaſe the number of gentry, where the biſhop's tenants are not able or willing to purchaſe; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: ſeveral perſons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchaſe at home under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs: by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably ſome of the purchaſers themſelves may be content to live cheap in a worſe country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of non-ſolvencies in abſence, if they let their lands too high.

This propoſal will alſo multiply farmers, when the purchaſers will have lands in their own power to give long and eaſy leaſes to induſtrious huſbandmen.

I have allowed ſome biſhoprics, of equal income, to be of more or leſs value to the purchaſer, according as they are circumſtanced. For inſtance, the lands of the primacy and ſome other ſees are let ſo low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the biſhop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the ſees of Meath and Clonfert conſiſting, as I am told, much of tythes, thoſe tythes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the ſee of Dublin is ſaid to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and ſome leaſes for

for lives, which pay very little, and not ſo ſoon nor ſo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their Graces my Lords the Archbiſhops, and my Lords the Biſhops, will heartily join in this propoſal out of gratitude to his late and preſent Majeſty, the beſt of kings, who have beſtowed on them ſuch high and opulent ſtations; as well as in pity to this country which is now become their own; whereby they will be inſtrumental towards paying the nation's debts without impoveriſhing themſelves; enrich an hundred gentlemen as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordſhips from conſiderable perſons, whoſe birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than ſervile dependents upon churchmen however dignified or diſtinguiſhed.

If I do not flatter myſelf, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to biſhops, being ſome of them perſons of quality and good eſtates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of theſe very leaſes under a ſucceſſion of biſhops, think it a diſgrace to be ſubject both to rents and fines at the pleaſure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, eſpecially the Diſſenters, who are our true loyal Proteſtant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that biſhops ſhould be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg to differ from them) being a point ſo contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſors they are deemed to be; and who, altho' they were contented that land ſhould be ſold for the common uſe of the brethren, yet would not buy it themſelves; but had it laid at their feet to be diſtributed to poor proſelytes.

I will add one word more; that by ſuch a wholſome law all the oppreſſions felt by under-tenants of church leaſes, which are now laid on the biſhops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordſhips conſenting to have their lands ſold for payment of the nation's debts; reſerving only the preſent rent for their own plentiful and honourable ſupport.

I beg leave to add one particular; that, when heads of a bill (as I find the ſtyle runs in this kingdom) ſhall

be brought in for forming this propoſal into a law, I ſhould humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every biſhop, except thoſe who reſide in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies neareſt his palace, as a demeſne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this ſcheme hath been much talked of for ſome time paſt, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, altho' I fell readily into it, when it was firſt communicated to me.

ALTHO' I am almoſt a perfect ſtranger in this kingdom; yet ſince I have accepted an employment here of ſome conſequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myſelf in duty bound to conſult the intereſt of people, among whom I have been ſo well received. And if I can be any way inſtrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent propoſal into a law, (which being not in the leaſt injurious to England will, I am confident, meet with no oppoſition from that ſide) my ſincere endeavours to ſerve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

An

An EXAMINATION of certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

[Written in the year 1732.]

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, eſpecially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many diſorders occaſioned by great numbers of people and carriages, eſpecially through narrow ſtreets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is ſaid to be very defective, and univerſally complained of. Many wholeſome laws have been enacted to correct thoſe abuſes, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wiſdom of the nation (whereof ſo many good effects have already appeared this ſeſſion) will ſoon take into their profound conſideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*abſit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my firſt breath; I cannot have a minute's eaſe or patience to forbear enumerating ſome of the greateſt enormities, abuſes, and corruptions ſpread almoſt through every part of Dublin; and propoſing ſuch remedies, as I hope the legiſlature will approve of.

THE narrow compaſs, to which I have confined myſelf in this paper, will allow me only to touch the moſt important defects; and ſuch as I think ſeem to require the moſt ſpeedy redreſs.

AND firſt; perhaps there was never known a wiſer inſtitution, than that of allowing certain perſons of both ſexes in large and populous cities to cry through the ſtreets many neceſſaries of life: it would be endleſs to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this uſeful invention; and particularly ſtrangers forced hither

by buſineſs, who reſide here but a ſhort time: for theſe, having uſually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an eaſy price purchaſe a tolerable dinner, if the ſeveral criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to ſell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers ſhall think it proper to interpoſe ſo far as to make thoſe traders pronounce their words in ſuch terms, that a plain chriſtian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would adviſe all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there ſee whether the thing that is cried be tripes, or ſlummery, butter-milk, or cow-heels. For as things are now managed, how is it poſſible for an honeſt countryman juſt arrived to find out what is meant, for inſtance, by the following words, with which his ears are conſtantly ſtunned twice a day, *muggs, juggs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in the cellar*; I ſay, how is it poſſible for any ſtranger to underſtand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfaſt or ſupper, unleſs his curioſity draws him to the window, or until his landlady ſhall inform him? I produce this only as one inſtance among a hundred much worſe, I mean where the words make a ſound wholly inarticulate, which give ſo much diſturbance, and ſo little information.

THE affirmation ſolemnly made in the cry of herrings is directly againſt all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive here*; the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary ſpeech, than to ſay of ſome neighbour for whom the paſſing-bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*. And pray how is it poſſible, that a herring, which, as philoſophers obſerve, cannot live longer than one minute three ſeconds and a half out of water, ſhould bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin; be toſſed into twenty hands, and preſerve its life in ſieves for ſeveral hours? nay, we have witneſſes ready to produce, that many thouſands of theſe herrings, ſo impudently aſſerted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worſt. What can we think of thoſe impious wretches, who dare in the face of the ſun vouch the very ſame affirmative of their ſalmon, and cry, *ſalmon alive, alive*; whereas, if

you

you call the woman who cries it, ſhe is not aſhamed to turn back her mantle, and ſhew you this individual ſalmon cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to theſe infamous diſgracers of their ſex and calling, without the leaſt appearance of remorſe, and fully againſt the conviction of their own conſciences; I have mentioned this grievance to ſeveral of our pariſh miniſters; but all in vain: ſo that it muſt continue, until the government ſhall think fit to interpoſe.

THERE is another cry, which from the ſtricteſt obſervation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *ſweet hearts*; and it is plainly intended for a reflexion upon the female ſex; as if there were at preſent ſo great a dearth of lovers, that the women inſtead of receiving preſents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchaſe *ſweet hearts*. Neither am I ſure, that this cry doth not glance at ſome diſaffection againſt the government; inſinuating, that while ſo many of our troops are engaged in foreign ſervice, and ſuch a great number of our gallant officers conſtantly reſide in England, the ladies are forced to take up with parſons and attornies: but this is a moſt unjuſt reflection, as may ſoon be proved by any perſon who frequents the caſtle, our public walks, our balls and aſſemblies; where the crouds of † *toupees* were never known to ſwarm as they do at preſent.

THERE is a cry peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been uſed in London; or at leaſt, not in the ſame terms that it hath been practiſed by both parties, during each of their powers, but very unjuſtly by the Tories. While theſe were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true Whigs and Hanoverians out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baſkets on their ſhoulders to call aloud at every houſe, *dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would ſignify, that the kingdom could never be cleanſed, until we were ſwept from the earth like rubbiſh. But

ſince

* A ſort of ſugar cakes in the ſhape of hearts.

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in faſhion, Dec. 1. 1733.

ſince that happy turn of times, when we were ſo miraculouſly preſerved by juſt an inch from popery, ſlavery, maſſacre, and the Pretender, I muſt own it is prudence in us ſtill to go on with the ſame cry; which hath ever ſince been ſo effectually obſerved, that the true political dirt is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

BUT to proceed to other enormities: every perſon who walks the ſtreets, muſt needs obſerve an immenſe number of human excrements at the doors and ſteps of waſte-houſes, and at the ſides of every dead wall; for which the diſaffected party hath aſſigned a very falſe and malicious cauſe: they would have it, that theſe heaps were laid there privately by Britiſh fundaments to make the world believe, that our Iriſh vulgar do daily eat and drink; and conſequently that the clamour of poverty among us muſt be falſe, proceeding only from Jacobites and Papiſts. They would confirm this by pretending to obſerve, that a Britiſh *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of theſe excrements upon a ſtrict view appearing copple-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with leſs continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent phyſician, who is well verſed in ſuch profound ſpeculations; and at my requeſt was pleaſed to make trial with each of his fingers, by thruſting them into the *anus* of ſeveral perſons of both nations, and profeſſed he could find no ſuch difference between them as thoſe ill-diſpoſed people alledge. On the contrary, he aſſured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to ſhew how ready the Jacobites are to lay hold of any handle to expreſs their malice againſt the government. I had almoſt forgot to add, that my friend the phyſician could by ſmelling each finger diſtinguiſh the Hibernian excrement from the Britiſh, and was not above twice miſtaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very ſoon to publiſh a learned diſſertation.

THERE is a diverſion in this city, which uſually begins among the butchers; but is often continued by a ſucceſſion of other people through many ſtreets; it is called the COSSING

COSSING *of a dog*: and I may juſtly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: a ſtrange dog happens to paſs through a fleſh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, *coſs, coſs*, ſeveral times. The ſame word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly underſtands the terms of art, and conſequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people, and even his own brother animals purſue: the purſuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight, and ſometimes hardly eſcapes. This our ill-wiſhers of the Jacobite kind are pleaſed to call a *perſecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon dogs of the Tory principle. But we can well defend ourſelves by juſtly alledging, that, when they were uppermoſt, they treated our dogs full as inhumanely. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended theſe proceſſions, altho' I can very well diſtinguiſh between a whig and tory dog, yet I never carried my reſentment very far from a party principle, except it were againſt certain malicious dogs, who moſt diſcovered their enmity againſt us in the *worſt of times**. And I remember too well, that in the wicked miniſtry of the Earl of Oxford a large maſtiff of our party, being unmercifully coſſed, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up Fiſhamble-ſtreet; and, as I am of low ſtature with very ſhort legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and altho' I made uſe of his tail for a bridle, holding it faſt with both my hands, and clung my legs as cloſe to his ſides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidſt the ſhouts and huzza's of a thouſand malicious Jacobites. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and for many other ſervices and ſufferings †, I have been ſince more than over-paid.

THIS adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diverſion of coſſing, which I confeſs myſelf an enemy

* A cant word uſed by Whigs for the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry.

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, vol. 1.

nemy to, unleſs we could always be ſure of diſtinguiſhing Tory dogs; whereof great numbers have ſince been ſo prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now juſtly eſteemed the beſt worriers of their former friends.

I am aſſured, and partly know, that all the chimney-ſweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by our enemies to ſculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will juſt permit them to look round; and at the uſual hours when members are going to the houſe, if they ſee a coach ſtand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call *coach, coach*, as loud as they can bawl, juſt at the inſtant when the footman begins to give the ſame call. And this is chiefly done on thoſe days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous conſequence; for theſe boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the abſence of a few members for a few minutes a queſtion may be carried againſt the true intereſt of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the Pretender.

I have not obſerved the wit and fancy of this town ſo much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of ſigns to hang over houſes, where punch is to be ſold. The bowl is repreſented full of punch, the ladle ſtands erect in the middle, ſupported ſometimes by one and ſometimes by two animals, whoſe feet reſt upon the edge of the bowl. Theſe animals are ſometimes one black *lion*, and ſometimes a couple; ſometimes a ſingle *eagle*, and ſometimes a ſpread one; and we often meet a *crow*, a *ſwan*, a *bear*, or a *cock*, in the ſame poſture.

Now, I cannot find how any of theſe animals either ſeparate or in conjunction are, properly ſpeaking, fit emblems or embelliſhments to advance the ſale of punch. Beſides it is agreed among naturaliſts, that no brute can endure the taſte of ſtrong liquor, except where he hath been uſed to it from his infancy; and conſequently it is againſt all the rules of hieroglyph to aſſign thoſe animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that caſe we ought to ſuppoſe, that the hoſt keeps always ready the real bird or beaſt, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his gueſts; which however to my know-

knowledge is not true in fact; not one of thoſe birds being a proper companion for a chriſtian, as to aiding and aſſiſting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the ſign, they are much more likely to mute, or ſhed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the *bear*, he is too terrible, aukward, and ſlovenly a companion to converſe with; neither are any of them all handy enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently ſuſpect a plot intended againſt the government by theſe devices. For altho' the *ſpread-eagle* be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may poſſibly be a lawful Proteſtant ſign, yet I, who am very ſuſpicious of fair outſides in a matter, which ſo nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the Pretender's wife is ſaid to be of German birth: and that many Popiſh princes in ſo vaſt an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: beſides it is plain, that the ſpread-eagle exhibites to us the perfect figure of a *croſs*; which is a badge of Popery. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to repreſent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *ſwan*, who muſt of neceſſity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engroſs all the treaſures of the Indies to himſelf. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect Jacobitiſm, and a manifeſt type of thoſe who blacken the actions of the beſt princes. It is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh, whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; becauſe it is the diſpoſition of a crow, to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of chriſtians, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a deſign to put the Jacobites in mind of their old practice, firſt to lull us aſleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not ſee their dangerous practices againſt the ſtate.

To ſpeak my private opinion; the leaſt offenſive picture in the whole ſett ſeems to be the *bear*; becauſe he repreſents *urſa major*, or the *great bear*, who preſides over the north, where the Reformation firſt began; and which,

which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the true Proteſtant religion. But however in thoſe ſigns, where I obſerve the bear to be chained, I cannot help ſurmiſing a Jacobite contrivance; by which theſe traytors hint an earneſt deſire of uſing all true Whigs, as their predeceſſors did the primitive chriſtians: I mean, to repreſent us as bears, and then halloo their Tory-dogs to bait us to death.

THUS I have given a fair account of what I diſlike in all the ſigns ſet over thoſe houſes, that invite us to punch. I own it was a matter, that did not need explaining, being ſo very obvious to common underſtanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there ſeems a fatal blindneſs to overſpread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wiſh, I may be found a falſe prophet. For theſe are not bare ſuſpicions, but manifeſt demonſtrations.

THEREFORE, away with theſe Popiſh Jacobites, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wiſh a law were enacted under ſevere penalties againſt drinking punch at all: for nothing is eaſier, than to prove it a diſaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are brandy, oranges and lemons, are all ſent us from Popiſh countries; and nothing remains of Proteſtant growth, but ſugar and water. For as to biſcuit, which formerly was held a neceſſary ingredient, and is truly Britiſh, we find it is entirely rejected.

BUT I will put the truth of my aſſertion paſt all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous conſequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original inſtitution of making punch left us by captain Ratcliff the ſharpneſs is only occaſioned by the juice of lemons; and ſo continued until after the happy Revolution. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner but of yeſterday. It was the politics of Jacobites to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing ſpeaks itſelf. It was cunningly to ſhew their virulence againſt his ſacred Majeſty King William of ever glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to ſhew how faſt diſloyalty increaſeth) they came from one to two, and then to three oranges; nay at preſent we often find punch made all with oranges, and not one ſingle lemon. For the Jacobites before

fore the death of that immortal Prince had by a ſuperſtition formed a private prayer, that as they ſqueezed the orange, ſo might that Proteſtant King be ſqueezed to death; according to the known ſorcery deſcribed by Virgil.

Limus ut hic dureſcit, et haec ut cera liqueſcit, &c. And, thus the Romans, when they ſacrificed an ox, uſed this kind of prayer; "As I knock down this ox, ſo mayeſt thou, "O Jupiter! knock down our enemies." In like manner after King William's death, whenever a Jacobite ſqueezed an orange, he had a mental curſe upon the glorious memory, and a hearty wiſh for power to ſqueeze all his Majeſty's friends to death, as he ſqueezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was Prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confeſſed it to me under an oath of ſecrecy, which however I thought it my duty not to keep, when I ſaw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an impious ſet of men, who never ſcruple to drink "Confuſion to all true Proteſtants" under the name of *Whig?* A moſt unchriſtian and inhuman practice; which to our great honour and comfort was never charged upon us, even by our moſt malicious detractors.

THE ſign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right hands ſupporting a *crown*, is met with in ſeveral parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unſkilfulneſs or dangerous principles of the painters (altho' I have good reaſons to ſuſpect the latter) thoſe angels are uſually drawn with ſuch horrid, or indeed rather diabolical countenances, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cauſe of triumph to the Jacobite, being a moſt infamous reflection upon our able and excellent miniſtry.

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries*; moſt of which we have borrowed from London. I ſhall conſider them only in a political view, as they nearly affect the peace and ſafety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in Popery, ſlavery, and arbitrary power by defeating the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and introducing the Pretender, ought in juſtice to be here laid open to the world.

ABOUT two or three months after the happy Revolution

all perſons, who poſſeſſed any employment or office, in church or ſtate, were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary: and a great number of diſaffected perſons refuſing to take the ſaid oaths from a pretended ſcruple of conſcience, but really from a ſpirit of Popery and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the ſwearing to thoſe princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud ſhrill voices, under pretence of ſelling fiſh, to go through the ſtreets with ſieves on their heads, and cry, *Buy my ſoul, buy my ſoul*; plainly inſinuating, that all thoſe, who ſwore to King William, were juſt ready to ſell their ſouls for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of Queen Anne, and, I hear, ſtill continues in London, with much offence to all true Proteſtants; but to our great happineſs ſeems to be almoſt dropt in Dublin.

BUT becauſe I altogether contemn the diſpleaſure and reſentment of high flyers, Tories, and Jacobites, whom I look upon to be worſe even than profeſſed Papiſts, I do here declare, that thoſe evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the worſt of times under the late Earl of Oxford's adminiſtration, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign. "That wicked "miniſter was univerſally known to be a Papiſt in his "heart *. He was of a moſt avaritious nature, and is ſaid "to have died worth four millions ſterl. beſides his vaſt "expence in building, ſtatues, plate, jewels, and other "coſtly rarities. He was of a mean obſcure birth, from "the very dregs of the people; and ſo illiterate, that he "could hardly read a paper at the council table. I for-"bear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; be-"cauſe I deſire not to rake into the aſhes of the dead: "and therefore I ſhall obſerve this wiſe maxim; *de mor-"tuis nil niſi bonum.*"

THIS flagitious man, in order to compaſs his black deſigns, employed certain wicked inſtruments (which great ſtateſmen are never without) to adapt ſeveral London cries in ſuch a manner as would beſt anſwer his ends. And,

* The author's meaning is juſt contrary to the literal ſenſe in the character of Lord Oxford. *Hawkeſ.*

And, whereas it was upon good grounds grievouſly ſuſpected, that all places at court were ſold to the higheſt bidder; certain women were employed by his emiſſaries to carry fiſh in baſkets on their heads, and bawl thro' the ſtreets, *buy my freſh places.* I muſt indeed own that other women uſed the ſame cry, who were innocent of this wicked deſign, and really ſold fiſh of that denomination to get an honeſt livelihood; but the reſt, who were in the ſecret, altho' they carried fiſh in their ſieves or baſkets to ſave appearances, yet they had likewiſe a certain ſign, ſomewhat reſembling that of the free-maſons, which the purchaſers of places knew well enough, and were directed by the women, whither they were to reſort and make their purchaſe. And, I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we obſerved many gentlemen finely dreſſed about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the Lord Treaſurer Oxford dwelt, calling the woman who cried *buy my freſh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a ſtreet, until they underſtood each other's ſign. But we never could obſerve, that any fiſh was bought.

Some years before the cries laſt mentioned, the Duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England for admitting his eldeſt ſon by the Dutcheſs of Orleans's daughter to ſucceed to the crown, as next heir, upon the Pretender's being rejected; and that ſon was immediately to turn Proteſtant. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people diſaffected to the then illuſtrious, but now royal, houſe of Hanover were in thoſe meaſures. Whereupon another ſet of women were hired by the Jacobite leaders to cry thro' the whole town, *buy my* Savoys, *dainty* Savoys, *curious* Savoys. But I cannot directly charge the late Earl of Oxford with this conſpiracy, becauſe he was not then chief miniſter. However, this wicked cry ſtill continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is in my humble opinion a very offenſive ſound to every true Proteſtant, who is old enough to remember thoſe dangerous times.

During the miniſtry of that corrupt and jacobite Earl above mentioned, the ſecret pernicious deſign of thoſe in power was to ſell Flanders to France: the conſequence of

which muſt have been the infallible ruin of the States-general, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that univerſal monarchy, they have ſo long aimed at; to which the Britiſh dominions muſt next after Holland have been compelled to ſubmit, whereby the Proteſtant religion would be rooted out of the world.

A deſign of this vaſt importance, after long conſultation among the jacobite grandees with the Earl of Oxford at their head, was at laſt determined to be carried on by the ſame method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to choſen men, whoſe voices were louder and ſtronger than thoſe of the other ſex: and upon this occaſion was firſt inſtituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country which we now by corruption call *Flanders*, is in its true orthography ſpelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old Engliſh books. I ſay, from hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever ſince ſtunned the ears of all London, made ſo many children fall into fits, and women miſcarry; *come buy my freſh* flaunders, *curious* flaunders, *charming* flaunders, *alive, alive, ho*; which laſt words can with no propriety of ſpeech be applied to fiſh manifeſtly dead (as I obſerved before in herrings and ſalmon), but very juſtly to ten provinces containing many millions of living chriſtians. But the application is ſtill cloſer, when we conſider that all the people were to be taken like fiſhes in a net; and by aſſiſtance of the Pope, who ſets up to be the *univerſal fiſher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expreſſion, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myſelf, a particular crier of *flounders* in London, who arrived at ſo much fame for the loudneſs of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath diſturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and altho' I were not in thoſe days ſo fully apprized of the deſigns, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a ſecret impulſe, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a ſtrong diſlike againſt the fellow; and often ſaid to myſelf,

This

This cry ſeems to be forged in the Jeſuites ſchool: alas, poor England! I am grievouſly miſtaken, if there be not ſome Popiſh plot at the bottom. I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too viſionary in my ſpeculations: but it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have ſince reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thouſand men of as ſtrong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the conſequences might have been, not only to theſe two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by ſelling Flanders to France. And yet theſe cries continue unpuniſhed both in London and Dublin; altho', I confeſs, not with equal vehemency or loudneſs; becauſe the reaſon for contriving this deſperate plot is to our great felicity wholly ceaſed.

IT is well known, that the majority of the Britiſh houſe of Commons in the laſt years of Queen Anne's reign were in their hearts directly oppoſite to the Earl of Oxford's pernicious meaſures; which put him under the neceſſity of bribing them with ſalaries. Whereupon he had again recourſe to his old politics. And accordingly his emiſſaries were very buſy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and converſation (as it was proved before Juſtice * Peyton) to cry that vegetable commonly called *ſellery* thro' the town. Theſe women differ from the common criers of that herb by ſome private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and ſufficiently talked of; and about the ſame period was the cry of *ſellery* brought over into this kingdom. But ſince there is not at this preſent the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may ſtill be tolerated.

I ſhall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is indeed of all others the moſt inſolent, as well as treaſonable, under our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, I mean that of *turnups*, not of *turnips*, according to the beſt orthography, but abſolutely *turntips*. Altho' the cry be of an older date than ſome of the preceding enormities, for it began ſoon after the Revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at ſo great a

* A famous whig juſtice in thoſe times.

height, as during the Earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myſelf to profeſs their diſapprobation of this cry on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureſſes, who kept houſes of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by ſome words in the cry; becauſe, after the crier had bawled out, *turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups,* he would ſometimes add the two following verſes,

Turn up the miſtreſs, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.

THIS, ſay ſome political ſophiſts, plainly ſhews, that there can be nothing farther meant in ſo infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdneſs; which indeed ought to be ſeverely puniſhed in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of ſtate. But, I hope, we are NOT ſo weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with ſuch poor evaſions. I could, if it were proper, demonſtrate the very time when thoſe two verſes were compoſed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr Swan ſo well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a Jacobite as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my preſence by Sir Henry Dutton-Colt, and Colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-houſe, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus it appears to a demonſtration, that thoſe verſes were only a blind to conceal the moſt dangerous deſigns of the party; who from the firſt years after the happy Revolution uſed a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *we hope to ſee the cards ſhuffled once more, and another King* TURN UP *trumph:* and, *when ſhall we meet over a diſh of* TURNUPS? The ſame term of art was uſed in their plots againſt the government, and in their treaſonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr Willes, as you may read in the trials of thoſe times. This I thought fit to ſet forth at large, and in ſo clear a light; becauſe the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance

rance or partiality I ſhall not decree; becauſe I am ſure the reader is convinced by my diſcovery. It is to be obſerved, that this cry was ſung in a particular manner by fellows in diſguiſe to give notice where thoſe traitors were to meet in order to concert their villainous deſigns.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble propoſal, that thoſe who cry this root at preſent in our ſtreets of Dublin may be compelled by the juſtices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*; for, I am afraid, we have ſtill too many ſnakes in our boſom, and it would be well if their cellars were ſometimes ſearched, when the owners leaſt expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

THUS, we are zealous in matters of ſmall moment, while we neglect thoſe of the higheſt importance. I have already made it manifeſt, that all theſe cries were contrived in the worſt of times, under the miniſtry of that deſperate ſtateſman Robert late Earl of Oxford; and for that very reaſon ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of Jacobites, and may well be numbered among the rags of Popery and treaſon; or, if it be thought proper that theſe cries muſt continue, ſurely they ought to be only truſted in the hands of true Proteſtants, who have given ſecurity to the government.

A LETTER from a member of the houſe of Commons in Ireland, to a member of the houſe of Commons in England, concerning the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

[Written in the year 1708. *]

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the ſtrange repreſentations made of us on your ſide of the water. The inſtance you are pleaſed to mention is that of the Preſbyterian miſſionary, who, according to your phraſe,

* In the 2d volume of Dr Swift's and Mr Pope's Miſcellanies, I found the following treatiſe, which had been printed in London, with ſome other of the Dean's works, many years before, but at firſt came out by itſelf in the year 1708, as the date ſhews: and it was at a juncture, when the Diſſenters were endeavouring to repeal the ſacramental teſt, as, by common fame, and ſome pamphlets publiſhed to the ſame purpoſe, they ſeem to be now again attempting, with great hope of ſucceſs. I have therefore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that diſcourſe, omitting only ſome paſſages, which relate to certain perſons, and are of no conſequence to the argument. But the author's way of reaſoning ſeems at preſent to have more weight, than it had in thoſe times, when the diſcourſe firſt appeared.——The author, in this letter, perſonates a member of parliament here, to a member of parliament in England.——The ſpeaker mentioned in this letter was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor and Lord Middleton; and the prelate was Dr Lindſay, afterwards Primate. *Dub. edit.* 1735.

This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the ſacramental teſt was revived. There was an explanatory advertiſement prefixed, which is ſaid by Lord Orrery to have been dictated, or ſtrictly reviſed, by the Dean himſelf: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought ſufficient to

phraſe, hath been lately perſecuted at Drogheda for his religion: but it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrious ſome people have been for three or four years paſt, to hand about ſtories of the hardſhips, the merits, the number, and the power of the Preſbyterians in Ireland, to raiſe formidable ideas of the dangers of Popery there, and to tranſmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with ſpecial care to have them inſerted with comments in thoſe infamous weekly papers, that infeſt your coffee-houſes. So, when the clauſe enacting a ſacramental teſt was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the juſtices of peace thro' this kingdom had laid down their commiſſions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in fortune and underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, when the Earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the Parliament ſitting, a formal ſtory was very gravely carried to his Excellency by ſome zealous members, of a prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the north-weſt parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a murdering the Proteſtants; which, tho' invented to ſerve an end they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, was preſently handed over, and printed with ſhrewd remarks by your worthy ſcribblers. In like manner the account of that perſon, who was

to deſtroy its authenticity: that which in the firſt paragraph is called the *following treatiſe* is afterwards ſaid to be an *extract of a diſcourſe*, and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except ſome paſſages of no conſequence: theſe are included in a parentheſis. *Hawkeſ.*

Swift held the Diſſenters in the utmoſt degree of ridicule and deteſtation. He had an openneſs in his diſpoſition, and a frankneſs in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reſerve.———To ſuch a diſpoſition it is impoſſible that the gravity of nonconformiſts could be agreeable. The diſlike was mutual on both ſides. Dr Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr Swift. This piece is particularly written againſt *repealing the teſt act*: and whoever conſiders himſelf related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it ſome arguments of weight and conſideration, in caſe any ſuch repeal ſhould ever be attempted there.

Orrery.

was lately expelled our univerſity for reflecting on the memory of King William; what a duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced till the univerſity was at the pains of publiſhing a Latin paper to juſtify themſelves. And, to mention no more, this ſtory of the perſecution at Drogheda, how it hath been ſpread and aggravated, what conſequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now if the end of all this proceeding were a ſecret and myſtery, I ſhould not pretend to give it an interpretation; but ſufficient care hath been taken to explain it, firſt, by addreſſes artificially (if not illegally) procured to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of the Diſſenters in Ireland by reaſon of the ſacramental teſt, and to deſire the Queen's interceſſion, that it might be repealed. Then it is manifeſt, that *our ſpeaker, when he was laſt year in England, ſollicited in perſon ſeveral members of both houſes to have it repealed by an act there: tho' it be a matter purely national, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the trade and intereſt of England; and tho' he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all men againſt the injuſtice of binding a nation by laws, to which they do not conſent. And laſtly, thoſe weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application againſt the ſacramental teſt, and the abſolute neceſſity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to ſay any thing of ſuch trifles, as are below a ſerious man's notice; much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of any party, to think they would chuſe the vileſt and moſt ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the aſſerters of a cauſe. I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcandalous liberty thoſe wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that ſome men would be glad to advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the underſtandings of a great number; they are grown a neceſſary

* Mr Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton.

neceſſary part in coffee-houſe furniture, and ſome time or other may happen to be read by cuſtomers of all ranks for curioſity and amuſement, becauſe they lie always in the way. One of theſe authors (the fellow that was pilloried; I have * forgot his name) is indeed ſo grave, ſententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the † Obſervator is much the briſker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lies and impudence than his Preſbyterian brother. [The reaſon why I mention him, is to have an occaſion of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel caſe: laſt year a paper was brought here from England, called *A dialogue between the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and Mr* Higgins, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deſerved, tho' we have no more to do with his Grace ‡ of Canterbury, than you have with the Archbiſhop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly, and by name, by that paultry raſcal of an Obſervator; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the buſineſs of the miſſionary of Drogheda, wherein our excellent primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and diſcretion. But becauſe the Lord Archbiſhop ‖ of Dublin hath been upon ſeveral occaſions, of late years, miſrepreſented in England, I would willingly ſet you right in his character. For his great ſufferings and eminent ſervices he was by the late King promoted to the ſee of Derry. About the ſame time he wrote a book to juſtify the revolution, wherein was an account of King James's proceedings in Ireland; and the

* The fellow that was pilloried, was Daniel Defoe, whoſe name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumſtance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it, ſhews great art in the niceſt touches of ſatire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The ſcoffs and ſarcaſms of Swift, like the bite of the rattle-ſnake, diſtinguiſh themſelves more venomouſly dangerous, than the wounds of a common ſerpent. *Orrery.*

He was pilloried for a tract called, *The ſhorteſt way with the Diſſenters.*

† Mr John Tutchin. ‡ Dr Thomas Tenniſon.

‖ Dr William King.

the late Archbiſhop Tillotſon recommended it to the King as the moſt ſerviceable treatiſe, that could have been publiſhed at ſuch a juncture. And as his Grace ſet out upon thoſe principles, he has proceeded ſo ever ſince, as a loyal ſubject to the Queen, entirely for the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and for ever excluding the Pretender; and tho' a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards Diſſenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was ſettled for many years among the moſt virulent of the ſect, yet upon his removal to Dublin they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and univerſal acknowledgements of his wiſdom and goodneſs. For the reſt, it muſt be owned, he does not buſy himſelf by entering deep into any party, but rather ſpends his time in acts of hoſpitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthieſt perſons he can find, without other regards: in ſhort, in the practice of all virtues, that can become a public or private life. This and more, if poſſible, is due to ſo excellent a perſon, who may be juſtly reckoned among the greateſt and moſt learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by ſuch mean and dirty hands as thoſe of the Obſervator, or ſuch as employ him.]

I now come to anſwer the other part of your letter, and ſhall give you my opinion freely about repealing the ſacramental teſt; only whereas you deſire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I muſt aſſure you they are exactly the ſame in both capacities.

I muſt begin by telling you, we are generally ſurprized at your wonderful kindneſs to us on this occaſion, in being ſo very induſtrious to teach us to ſee our intereſt in a point, where we are ſo unable to ſee it ourſelves. This hath given us ſome ſuſpicion; and tho' in my own particular I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourſelves in our affairs, it is certainly *for our good*, yet I have the misfortune to be ſomething ſingular in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to juſtify it, but content myſelf to poſſeſs my own opinion in private, for

for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to ſpare.

We at this diſtance, who ſee nothing of the ſpring of actions, are forced by mere conjecture to aſſign two reaſons for your deſiring us to repeal the ſacramental teſt; one is, becauſe you are ſaid to imagine it will be a ſtep towards the like good work in England. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding ſeveral perſons, who have well deſerved upon a great occaſion, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, eſpecially Engliſh: but I remember there is in ſome of Mr Cowley's love verſes a ſtrain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by Ireland,

Forbid it, heaven, my life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt conveniency.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you propoſe to yourſelves by repealing the ſacramental teſt, ſpeak it out plainly, it is the beſt argument you can uſe, for we value your intereſt much more than our own; if your little finger be ſore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall be done: the intereſt of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to ſtrike to that of your pooreſt fiſhing towns; it is hard you will not accept our ſervices, unleſs we believe at the ſame time, that you are only conſulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my houſe before there be occaſion, becauſe you are a man of quality, and apprehend ſome danger to a corner of your ſtable; yet why ſhould you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourſelves, we had abundance of benefit by the ſacramental teſt, and foreſee a number of miſchiefs would be the conſequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made againſt it by the Diſſenters are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how chearfully they engaged for the ſafety of the nation; that

if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the future they ſhall ſit down quietly, and let us do our work ourſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high-treaſon.

Now ſuppoſing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the * *fly on the wheel*, I thought liberty, property, and religion, had been the three ſubjects of the quarrel, and have not all thoſe been amply ſecured to them? had they at that time a mental reſervation for power and employments? and muſt theſe two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? it is grown a mighty conceit among ſome men, to melt down the phraſe of a *church eſtabliſhed by law*, into that of the *religion of the magiſtrate*; of which appellation it is eaſier to find the reaſon than the ſenſe: if by the magiſtrate they mean the prince, [the expreſſion includes a falſhood; for when King James was prince] the eſtabliſhed church was the ſame it is now. If by the ſame word they mean the legiſlature, we deſire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one eſtabliſhed by law, and are willing by the ſame law to give a toleration to Diſſenters; but if once we repeal our ſacramental teſt, and grant a toleration, or ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any eſtabliſhed church remaining; or rather why there will not be as many eſtabliſhed churches, as there are ſects of diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will ſtill be the national church, becauſe your biſhops and clergy are maintained by the public: but, *that* I ſuppoſe will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould, becauſe, to ſpeak in Tindal's phraſe, it is not reaſonable that revenues ſhould be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the ſame author's maxim, that no free-born ſubject ought

* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having ſettled on the ſpoke of a wheel belonging to a chariot, that was driven rapidly along the road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, "*What a duſt we raiſe!*"

ought to pay for maintaining ſpeculations he does not believe. *But why ſhould any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of ſerving his queen and country?* their zeal is commendable, and when employments go a begging for want of hands, they ſhall be ſure to have the refuſal, only upon the condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims, which equally include Atheiſts, Turks, Jews, Infidels, and Heretics; or, which is ſtill more dangerous, even Papiſts themſelves: the former you allow, the other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own a foreign power, and therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can ſuit with free ſtates, with limited or abſolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the Pope's power in France is but a ſhadow; ſo that upon this foot there need be no great danger to the conſtitution by admitting Papiſts to employments. I will help you to enough of them ſhall be ready to allow the Pope as little power here as you pleaſe; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Chriſt is but a ſpeculative point, for which no man it ſeems ought to be deprived the capacity of ſerving his country.

But, if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great objection we have againſt repealing this ſame ſacramental teſt. It is, that we are verily perſuaded, the conſequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us in no great compaſs of years. And pray, obſerve how we reaſon here in Ireland upon this matter.

We obſerve the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave induſtrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an undiſturbed affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the ſoil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Loquaber by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Doun and Antrim, ſo productive of that grain, which at little trouble and leſs expence finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their extreme parſimony, wonderful dexterity in dealing, and firm adherence to one another, ſoon grow into wealth from the ſmalleſt beginnings, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new ſupplies: beſides, when they are the ſuperior number in any

tract of ground, they are not over patient of mixture; but ſuch, whom they cannot aſſimulate, ſoon find it their intereſt to remove. I have done all in my power on ſome land of my own to preſerve two or three Engliſh fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, tho' one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his court by turning preſbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a moſt formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at leaſt three degrees worſe than popery: and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that ſpirit, which taught them to aboliſh epiſcopacy at home.

THEN we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very conſiderable number in the houſe of Commons, and have no other merit, but that of doing their duty in their ſeveral ſtations; therefore, when the teſt is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe, who have much greater ſervices to plead. The commiſſions of the revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commiſſioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be ſaid of the great offices in this law; and when the door is open to let diſſenters into the commiſſions of the peace, to make them high-ſheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their induſtry and our ſupineneſs, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the houſe of Commons, and conſequently make themſelves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the preſbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, becauſe our biſhops are ſo great in number in the houſe of Lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be aboliſhed. But I have two very good expedients for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare ſwear our ſpeaker here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at one of them ſo lately. To convince you, that this deſign is not ſo foreign from ſome people's thoughts, I

muſt

muſt let you know, than an honeſt bell-weather * of our houſe (you have him now in England, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the impudence ſome years ago, in parliament time, to ſhake my Lord biſhop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-ſleeve, and tell him in a threatning manner, *that he hoped to live to ſee the day, when there ſhould not be one of his order in the kingdom.*

THESE laſt lines perhaps you think a digreſſion; therefore to return, I have told you the conſequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the ſacramental teſt, which altho' the greateſt number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any church or no; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from conſcience as well as policy and intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in anſwer to your queſtion, whether if any attempt ſhould be made here for repealing the ſacramental teſt, it would be likely to ſucceed? the number of profeſſed diſſenters in this parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the preſbyterian party having with great induſtry muſtered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occaſion of a hint in my Lord ‡ Pembroke's ſpeech, to introduce a debate about repealing the teſt clauſe, when there appeared at leaſt four to one odds againſt them; and the ableſt of thoſe, who were reckoned the moſt ſtanch and thorough-paced Whigs upon all other occaſions, fell off with an abhorrence at the firſt mention of this.

I muſt deſire you to take notice, that the terms of *whig* and *tory* do not properly expreſs the different intereſts in our parliament. [I remember, when I was laſt in England, I told the King, that the higheſt tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and ſtill in the general continues ſo, unleſs you have ſince admitted new characteriſtics, which did not come within our definition] Whoever bears a true veneration

* Suppoſed to be Mr Broderick. † Dr Lindſay, afterwards Lord Primate. ‡ Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

on for the glorious memory of King William as our great deliverer from popery and ſlavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our preſent Queen with an utter abhorrence and deteſtation of the Pretender; whoever approves the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover, and is for preſerving the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, with an indulgence for ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be juſtly allowed a Whig: and I believe there are not ſix members in our houſe of Commons, who may not fairly come under this deſcription. So that the parties among us are made up on one ſide of moderate Whigs, and on the other of Preſbyterians and their abettors, by which laſt I mean ſuch, who can equally go to a church or conventicle, or ſuch who are indifferent to all religion in general; or laſtly, ſuch who affect to bear a perſonal rancour towards the clergy: theſe laſt are a ſet of men not of our own growth, their principles at leaſt have been imported of late years; yet this whole party put together will ſcarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in Parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of Lords, the difficulty there is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the biſhops are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the *teſt*; and yet their Lordſhips are generally thought as good Whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom certain powerful motives might be uſed for removing any difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt and the whole bench of biſhops.

Besides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly againſt repealing the *teſt*, tho' they are entirely devoted to her Majeſty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good Whigs in our acceptation of the word. And I muſt let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to other folks refinements; for we generally love and eſteem

eſteem our clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater point of intereſt than this. And their judgment in the preſent affair is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt perſons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the intereſt of the kingdom. Becauſe the act, which repeals the *teſt*, will only qualify a layman for an employment, but not a Preſbyterian or Anabaptiſt preacher for a church-living. Now I muſt take leave to inform you, that ſeveral members of our houſe, and myſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any diſtinction, and deſired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a moſt wonderful agreement, there being but one divine that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary ſentiment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone in the convocation, very little to his credit, tho', as he hoped, very much to his intereſt.

I will now conſider a little the arguments offered to ſhew the advantages, or rather the neceſſity of repealing the *teſt* in Ireland. We are told, the Popiſh intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all hands ſhould be joined to keep it under; that the only names of diſtinction among us ought to be thoſe of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*; and that this expedient is the only means to *unite* all Proteſtants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but miſrepreſentation and miſtake.

If we were under any real fear of the Papiſts in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, as not to be equally apprehenſive with *others*, ſince we are likely to be the greateſt, and more immediate ſufferers: but on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconſiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almoſt entirely taken from them, and they are rendered uncapable of purchaſing any more; and for the little that remains, proviſion is made by the late act againſt popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them are already turned Proteſtants, and ſo in all probability

will

will many more. Then, the Popiſh prieſts are all regiſtered, and without permiſſion (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no ſucceſſors; ſo that the Proteſtant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without diſcipline, or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood, and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any miſchief, if they were ever ſo well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any conſiderable numbers with an invader, having found ſo ill ſucceſs when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them *, had been trained for ſome years under a Popiſh deputy, and received ſuch mighty aids from the French King.

As to that argument uſed for repealing the teſt, that it will unite all Proteſtants againſt the common enemy; I wonder by what figure thoſe gentlemen ſpeak, who are pleaſed to advance it: ſuppoſe, in order to increaſe the friendſhip between you and me, a law ſhould paſs, that I muſt have half your eſtate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or ſuppoſe I ſhare my fortune equally between my own children and a ſtranger, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? it is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their antient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any loſs or injury, if it be refuſed them. Neither is it very clear, how far ſome people may ſtretch the term of common enemy. How many are there of thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, who look upon our worſhip to be idolatrous as well as that of the Papiſts, and with great charity put Prelacy and Popery together as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one ſmall doubt I would be willingly ſatisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the teſt; that is, whether theſe ſame Proteſtants, when they have by their dexterity made themſelves the national religion,

* In the reign of King James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

ligion, and diſpoſed the church revenues among their paſtors or themſelves, will be ſo kind to allow us Diſſenters, I do not ſay a ſhare in employments, but a bare toleration by law? The reaſon of my doubt is, becauſe I have been ſo very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as many Preſbyterian divines, loudly diſclaiming this idol *toleration*, ſome of them calling it (I know not how properly) a rag of Popery, and all agreeing it was to eſtabliſh iniquity by a law. Now I would be glad to know, when and where their ſucceſſors have renounced this doctrine, and before what witneſſes. Becauſe, methinks I ſhould be loth to ſee my poor titular Biſhop *in partibus* ſeized on by miſtake in the dark for a Jeſuit, or be forced myſelf to keep a chaplain diſguiſed like my butler, and ſteal to prayers in a back-room, as my grandfather uſed in thoſe times, when the church of England was malignant.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; Popery is now the common enemy, againſt which we muſt all unite: I have been tired in hiſtory with the perpetual folly of thoſe ſtates, who call in foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a common enemy: but the miſchief was, theſe allies would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite ſubdued. And they had reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one part of the common enemy was thoſe who called them in, and ſo the allies became at length the maſters.

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a lion is a larger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his foot, bound faſt with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or any angry cat in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wonderful ſignificancy of that word *perſecution*, and what various interpretations it hath acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the Preſbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to ſerve God in their own way; they ſaid they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably ought to have liberty of conſcience, and leave to aſſemble. That impediment

impediment being removed at the revolution, they ſoon learned to ſwallow the ſacramental teſt, and began to take very large ſteps, wherein all who offered to oppoſe them, were called men of a perſecuting ſpirit. During the time the bill againſt occaſional conformity was on foot, perſecution was every day rung in our ears, and now at laſt the ſacramental teſt itſelf has the ſame name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one requeſt is only uſed as a ſtep to demand another? a lover is ever complaining of cruelty, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceaſes to be cruel, ſhe is from the next moment at his mercy: ſo perſecution, it ſeems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to perſecute others.

THERE is one argument offered againſt a ſacramental teſt by a ſort of men, who are content to be ſtiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its ſervice in the morning, and go with their wives to a conventicle in the afternoon, confeſſing they hear very good doctrine in both. Theſe men are much offended, that ſo holy an inſtitution, as that of the Lord's ſupper, ſhould be made ſubſervient to ſuch mercenary purpoſes as the getting of an employment. Now it ſeems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the ſacrament; and ſuppoſing all men to live like Chriſtians (eſpecially thoſe who are to have employments) did imagine they received ths ſacrament in courſe about four times a year; and therefore only deſired it might appear by certificate to the public, that ſuch, who took an office, were members of the church eſtabliſhed, by doing their ordinary duty. However, leſt we ſhould offend them, we have often deſired they would deal candidly with us: for if the matter ſtuck only there, we would propoſe it in Parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, ſhould, inſtead of receiving the ſacrament, be obliged to ſwear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law eſtabliſhed, with epiſcopacy, and ſo forth; and as they do now in Scotland, *to be true to the kirk.* But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge the hardſhip that men ſhould be deprived the liberty of ſerving their Queen

and

and country on account of their conſcience; and in ſhort have recourſe to the common ſtile of their half-brethren. Now, whether this be a ſincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

THERE is another topic of clamour ſomewhat parallel to the foregoing: it ſeems by the teſt-clauſe, the military officers are obliged to receive the ſacrament, as well as the civil. And it is a matter of ſome patience, to hear the Diſſenters declaiming upon this occaſion: they cry they are diſarmed, they are uſed like Papiſts: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condition! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that the Pretender was not appriſed of this paſſive Preſbyterian principle, elſe he would have infallibly landed in our northern parts, and found them all ſat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman ſenators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes to appeaſe their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in ſuch a caſe the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to hang them for defending it againſt the letter of the law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all popiſh inſurrections at home, or popiſh invaſions from abroad, the government ſhall be impowered to grant commiſſions to all Proteſtants whatſoever, without that perſecuting circumſtance of obliging them to *ſay their prayers*, when they receive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of occaſional commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they had rather loſe their eſtates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of governing.

BUT to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion: if the Diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a toleration by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this houſe of Commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, we make

make a mighty difference here between ſuffering *thiſtles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *poſies*. We are fully convinced in our conſciences, that *we* ſhall always *tolerate them*; but not quite ſo fully that *they* will always *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are the majority, and *we* are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obſolete; but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foreſee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the conſequences of repealing this clauſe ſhould at ſome time or other enable the Preſbyterians to work themſelves up into the national church; inſtead of uniting Proteſtants, it would ſow eternal diviſions among them. Firſt, their own ſects, which now lie dormant, would be ſoon at cuffs again with each other about power and preferment; and the diſſenting Epiſcopals, perhaps diſcontented to ſuch a degree, as upon ſome fair unhappy occaſion, would be able to ſhake the firmeſt loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from ſome late proceedings, at what a rate this faction is like to drive, where-ever it gets the *whip* and the *ſeat*. They have already ſet up courts of ſpiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they ſend miſſionaries every where, without being invited, in order to convert the church of England folks to Chriſtianity. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend perſons on their death-beds, and for purpoſes much alike. And what practices ſuch principles as theſe (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may ſhawn, when they are *laid out to the ſun*, you may determine at leiſure.

Lastly, Whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their loyalty upon the preſent foot of government as you may imagine, their detractors make a queſtion, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of Diſſenters: but the inſtance produced is of ſome among their leading teachers in the north, who having refuſed the abjuration oath, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe hath been publiſhed: I think it a pity, it hath not been remedied.

Thus

THUS I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion as well as that of a great majority in both houſes here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am with great reſpect,

Dublin, Dec. 4. 1708.

Sir,

Your, &c.

Some ARGUMENTS againſt enlarging the power of BISHOPS in letting of LEASES *.

Mihi credite, major hereditas venit unicuique veſtrum in iiſdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipſa bona relicta ſunt. Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

[Written in the year 1723.]

IN handling this ſubject I ſhall proceed wholly upon the ſuppoſition, that thoſe of our party, who profeſs themſelves members of the church eſtabliſhed, and under the apoſtolical government of biſhops, do deſire the continuance and tranſmiſſion of it to poſterity at leaſt in as good a condition as it is at preſent: becauſe, as this diſcourſe is not calculated for diſſenters of any kind, ſo neither will it ſuit the talk or ſentiments of thoſe perſons, who with the denomination of churchmen are oppreſſors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the biſhops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reaſon, altho' it be now near 200 years ſince almoſt three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, beſides the ſpoils that have been gradually made ever ſince of glebes and other lands by the confuſion of times, the fraud of encroaching neighbours,

* This pamphlet is intermixed with thoſe maſterly ſtrokes of irony, which are ſo often intermixed in Swift's works. The general ſubject of it leads me to recollect a circumſtance much to the Dean's honour; he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always choſe to raiſe the rents, as the method leaſt oppreſſive to the preſent tenant, and moſt advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He conſtantly refuſed to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the neceſſary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

neighbours, or the power of oppreſſors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the Reformation many Popiſh biſhops of this kingdom, knowing they muſt have been ſoon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leaſes and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reſerving very inconſiderable rents, ſometimes only a chiefry, by a power they aſſumed directly contrary to many antient canons, yet conſiſtent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the biſhops became Proteſtants; and ſome of their names are ſtill remembered with infamy on account of enriching their families by ſuch ſacrilegious alienations. By theſe means epiſcopal revenues were ſo low reduced, that three or four ſees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For ſome remedy to this evil King James I. by a bounty, that became a good Chriſtian Prince, beſtowed ſeveral forfeited lands on the northern biſhoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom the church continued ſtill in the ſame diſtreſs and poverty; ſome of the ſees hardly poſſeſſing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of King Charles I.'s reign the legiſlature here thought fit to put a ſtop at leaſt to any farther alienations; and ſo a law was enacted, prohibiting all biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical corporations, from ſetting their lands for above the term of twenty one years; the rent reſerved to be one half of the real value of ſuch lands at the time they were ſet, without which condition the leaſe to be void.

Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. the parliament taking into conſideration the miſerable eſtate of the church, certain lands by way of augmentation were granted to eight biſhops in the act of ſettlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three ſees were in a great meaſure defeated; but by what accidents it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at preſent is the condition of the church in Ireland with regard to epiſcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for ſome information to thoſe, whoſe thoughts do not lead them to ſuch conſiderations.

By virtue of the ſtatute already mentioned, under King Charles I. limiting eccleſiaſtical bodies to the term of twenty one years under the reſerved rent of half real value, the biſhops have had ſome ſhare in the gradual riſe of lands, without which they could not have been ſupported with any common decency that might become their ſtation. It is above eighty years ſince the paſſing of that act: the ſee of Meath, one of the beſt in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 *l. per annum*; the poorer ones in the ſame proportion. If this were their preſent condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their ſucceſſors, if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs, as they ſay is now intended, which I will ſuppoſe; and believe many perſons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at leaſt eluded; ſome are for giving biſhops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leaſes for lives; and the moſt moderate would repeal that clauſe, by which the biſhops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reaſons for the riſe of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the firſt kind, are long peace and ſettlement after the devaſtations of war; plantations, improvements of bad ſoil, recovery of bogs and marſhes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increaſe of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reaſon for the riſe of land, more gradual, conſtant and certain; which will have its effects in countries, that are very far from flouriſhing in any of the advantages I have juſt mentioned: I mean the perpetual decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver. I ſhall diſcourſe upon theſe two different kinds with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the firſt: I cannot ſee how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for 30 years paſt have been real diſ-improvements; nine in ten of the quickſet-hedges being ruined for want of care or ſkill. And as to foreſt trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in ſingle rows on the tops of ditches, it is impoſſible they ſhould grow

grow to be of uſe, beauty, or ſhelter. Neither can it be ſaid, that the ſoil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while ſo much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almoſt deſperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath indeed been ſome little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, altho' very ſhort of perfection; but our trade was never in ſo low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wiſe nations have been ſo tender, the deſolation made in the country by engroſſing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable inſtances under what diſcouragement it lies.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe mortifications, I ſuppoſe there is no well-wiſher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in ſome of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if eccleſiaſtical bodies ſhould be the only perſons excluded from any ſhare in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater ſhare of profit to their tenants: if God *ſends rain equally upon the juſt and the unjuſt*, why ſhould thoſe, who wait at his altars, and are inſtructors of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reaſoning may ſeem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will ſuit with the preſent diſpoſition or faſhion of the age; I ſhall therefore dwell more largely upon the ſecond reaſon for the riſe of land, which is the perpetual decreaſe of the value of gold and ſilver.

This may be obſerved from the courſe of the Roman hiſtory above two thouſand years before thoſe inexhauſtible ſilver mines of Potoſi were known. The value of an obolous and of every other coin between the time of Romulus and that of Auguſtus gradually ſunk above five parts in ſix, as appears by ſeveral paſſages out of the beſt authors. And yet, the prodigious wealth of that ſtate did not ariſe from the increaſe of bullion in the world by the diſcovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cauſe, which was the ſpreading of their conqueſt, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy the riches of the eaſt and weſt.

When the ſeat of empire was removed to Conſtanti-

nople, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was ſcattered in Aſia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the northern people, ſuch a ſtop was put to all trade and commerce, that vaſt ſums of money were buried to eſcape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by thoſe ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the Monkiſh and other writers ſince the conqueſt have put that matter in a clearer light, by the ſeveral accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that King John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thouſand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewiſe ſeen the ſteward's accounts of an antient noble family in England, written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the ſeveral prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my obſervations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years paſt. Henry Duke of Lancaſter, who lived about that period, founded an hoſpital in Leiceſter for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In thoſe times, a penny was equal to ten pence half-penny, and ſomewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain alſo from the old cuſtom upon many eſtates in England to let for leaſes of lives (renewable at pleaſure) where the reſerved rent is uſually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and altho' the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three ſhillings in the pound of the worth of his land: and the tenants are ſo wedded to this cuſtom, that, if the owner ſuffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a leaſe on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reaſonable rent, the other tenants by all manner of injuries will make that foreigner ſo uneaſy, that he muſt be forced to

quit

quit the farm; as the late Earl of Bath felt by the experience of above ten thouſand pounds loſs.

THE gradual decreaſe for about two hundred years after was not conſiderable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by ſome hiſtorians, that Hary VII. left behind him eighteen hundred thouſand pounds; for altho' the Weſt-Indies were diſcovered before his death, and altho' he had the beſt talents and inſtruments for exacting of money ever poſſeſſed by any prince ſince the time of Veſpaſian (whom he reſembled in many particulars), yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of England could hardly amount to ſuch a ſum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir—Cockain of Derbyſhire, the beſt houſe-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each ſervant, and two pounds to the ſteward; as I was told by a perſon of quality who had ſeen the original account of his œconomy. Now this ſum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at preſent, or ſomewhat more than four fifths.

THE great plenty of ſilver in England began in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vaſt quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards either upon their own American coaſts, or in their return to Spain. However ſo much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and moſt parts of Europe, is ſunk above one half within the ſpace of an hundred years, notwithſtanding the great export of ſilver for about eighty years paſt to the Eaſt-Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the ſame accident, and by new diſcoveries growing every day more plentiful, ſeems in danger of becoming a drug.

THIS hath been the progreſs of the value of money in former ages, and muſt of neceſſity continue ſo for the future, without ſome new invaſion of Goths and Vandals to deſtroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upſide down.

I muſt repeat, that what I am to ſay upon the ſubject is intended only for the conviction of thoſe among our own

own party, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it ſhould continue in a tolerable degree of proſperity to the end of the world.

THE church is ſuppoſed to laſt for ever both in its diſcipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who muſt likewiſe obſerve the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's eſtate, which now yields him a thouſand pounds a year, had been ſet for ever at the higheſt value even in the flouriſhing days of King Charles the ſecond, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at moſt? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reſerved rent at this day be any more than a ſmall chiefry? ſuppoſe the revenues of a biſhop to have been under the ſame circumſtances; could he now be able to perform works of hoſpitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a biſhop be limited to a thouſand pounds a year; how will his ſucceſſor be in a condition to ſupport his ſtation with decency, when the ſame denomination of money ſhall not anſwer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that ſum? which muſt unavoidably be the conſequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preſerved from utter ruin.

THE ſame reaſon holds good in all corporations whatſoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them ſmart to this day; altho' the leaders among them are often ſo ſtupid as not to perceive it, or ſometimes ſo knaviſh as to find their private account in cheating the community.

SEVERAL colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and inſtead of limiting their rents to a certain ſum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of ſo many barrels of corn to be valued as the market went at two ſeaſons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinſic value, which gold and ſilver are not; and by this invention theſe colleges have preſerved a tolerable ſubſiſtence for their fellows and ſtudents to this day.

THE preſent biſhops will indeed be no ſufferers by ſuch a bill; becauſe, their ages conſidered, they cannot expect to ſee any great decreaſe in the value of money; or at worſt

worſt they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than uſual upon the change of leaſes into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And as I cannot well blame them for taking ſuch advantages, (conſidering the nature of human kind) when the queſtion is only, whether the money ſhall be put into their own or another man's pocket: ſo they will never be excuſable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppoſe, declare, and proteſt againſt any ſuch bill, as muſt in its conſequences compleat the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private perſon be diminiſhed by the weakneſs, or inadvertency of his anceſtors, in letting leaſes for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his induſtry for purchaſing of more; but the church is barred by a dead hand; or if it were otherwiſe, yet the cuſtom of making bequeſts to it hath been out of practice for almoſt two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary hath been its fortune.

I have been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, to whom I am likewiſe obliged for the account of ſome other facts already related, that the late* Biſhop of Saliſbury (the greateſt Whig of that bench in his days) confeſſed to him, that the liberty which biſhops in England have of letting leaſes for lives would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of Epiſcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two Engliſh Prelates quitted their peerage and ſeats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the ſake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be juſtly cenſured. I know indeed ſome perſons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with biſhops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for ſome years

* Dr Burnet.

years paſt, gentlemen will grow diſcouraged from ſending their ſons to the univerſity, and from ſuffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languiſh under a curacy or ſmall vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decreaſe in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and beſides, when biſhoprics here grow too ſmall to invite over men of credit and conſequence, they will be left more fully to the diſpoſal of a chief governor, who can never fail of ſome worthleſs illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench in an age or two be compoſed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble ſuppliants and dependents upon the court for a morſel of bread, and ready to ſerve every turn that ſhall be demanded from them in hopes of getting ſome *commendam* tacked to their fees; which muſt then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great diſcouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty five years ſince the paſſing of that limiting act, and there is but one inſtance in the memory of man of a biſhop's leaſe broken upon the plea of not being ſtatutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been loſt by no other perſon than he, who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the preſent * Biſhop of Meath's caſe that plea did not avail, altho' the leaſe were notoriouſly unſtatutable; the rent reſerved being, as I have been told, not a ſeventh part of the real value; yet the jury upon their oaths very gravely found it to be according to the ſtatute; and one of them was heard to ſay, that he would eat his ſhoes before he would give a verdict for the Biſhop. A very few more have made the ſame attempt with as little ſucceſs. Every biſhop and other eccleſiaſtical body reckon forty pounds in an hundred to be a reaſonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it ſeldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts leſs than the worth, the biſhop, if he conſults the good of his ſee, will be apt to expoſtulate; and the tenant, if he be an honeſt

* Dr. Evans, a Welchman.

honeſt man, will have ſome regard to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the demand, ſo as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a ſuit, where law and equity are directly againſt him. By theſe means the biſhops have been ſo true to their truſts, as to procure ſome ſmall ſhare in the advancement of rents; altho' it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thouſand pounds a year in the hands of a Proteſtant biſhop, any more than of a lay perſon *. The former, generally ſpeaking, liveth as piouſly and hoſpitably as the other; pays his debts as honeſtly, and ſpends as much of his revenue among his tenants: beſides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may diſtinguiſh them at firſt ſight by their habits and horſes; or if you go to their houſes, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that ſuch immediate tenants generally ſpeaking have others under them, and ſo a third and fourth in ſubordination, till it comes to the *welder* (as they call him) who ſits at a rack-rent, and lives as miſerably as an Iriſh farmer upon a new leaſe from a lay landlord. But ſuppoſe a biſhop happens to be avaritious, (as being compoſed of the ſame ſtuff with other men) the conſequence to the public is no worſe than if he were a ſquire; for he leaves his fortune to his ſon or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entring into the church.

And as there can be no diſadvantage to the public in a Proteſtant country, that a man ſhould hold lands as a biſhop, any more than if he were a temporal perſon; ſo it is of great advantage to the community, where a biſhop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conſcience to reſide in his dioceſe, and by a ſolemn promiſe to keep hoſpitality; his eſtate is ſpent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppoſe him

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when ſeveral of queen Anne's biſhops were living.

him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it muſt be allowed, that ſome biſhops of this kingdom within twenty years paſt have done very ſignal and laſting acts of public charity; great inſtances whereof are the * late and † preſent Primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbiſhop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the Biſhop of ‖ Raphoe, and ſeveral others: not forgetting the late Dean of Down, Dr Pratt, who beſtowed one thouſand pounds upon the univerſity: which foundation, (that I may obſerve by the way) if the bill propoſed ſhould paſs, would be in the ſame circumſtances with the biſhops, nor ever able again to advance the ſtipends of the fellows and ſtudents, as lately they found it neceſſary to do; the determinate ſum appointed by the ſtatutes for commons being not half ſufficient by the fall of money to afford neceſſary ſuſtenance. But the paſſing of ſuch a bill muſt put an end to all eccleſiaſtical benefices for the time to come; and whether this will be ſupplied by thoſe who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tythes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hoſpitality, it will be eaſy to conjecture.

To alledge, that paſſing ſuch a bill would be a good encouragement to improve biſhops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a leaſe, and then cant their lands to the higheſt bidder? And what ſhould hinder the ſame courſe to be taken in church leaſes, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the biſhop? In riding through the country how few improvements do we ſee upon the eſtates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To ſay the truth, it is a great misfortune as well to the public as to the biſhops themſelves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great ſquires, who in reaſon were never deſigned to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a ſubſerviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church

* Dr Marſh. † Dr Lindſay. ‡ Dr King.
‖ Dr Foſter.

church were honeſt farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulneſs, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thouſand pounds a year talk with great contempt of biſhops leaſes, as being on a worſe foot than the reſt of his eſtate; and he had certainly reaſon: my anſwer was, that ſuch leaſes were originally intended only for the benefit of induſtrious huſbandmen, who would think it a great bleſſing to be ſo provided for, inſtead of having his farm ſcrewed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find ſhoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by ſuch a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jury men, and falſe dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and ſo I ſhall be ſure to prevent the ſin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookſeller ſent me a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, *The caſe of the laity, with ſome queries*; full of the ſtrongeſt malice againſt the clergy, that I have any where met with ſince the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. Theſe kinds of advocates do infinite miſchief to OUR GOOD CAUSE by giving grounds to the unjuſt reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his Majeſty King GEORGE and the houſe of Hanover, not ſhaken in the leaſt by the hardſhips we lie under, which never can be imputable to ſo gracious a prince; if I ſincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late King WILLIAM, who preſerved theſe kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY with the expence of his blood, and hazard of his life; and laſtly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all diſſenters, I think nothing more can be reaſonably demanded of *me* as a WHIG, and that my political catechiſm is full and complete. But whoever, under the ſhelter of that party denomination, and of many great profeſſions of loyalty, would deſtroy, or undermine, or injure the CHURCH eſtabliſhed; I utterly diſown him, and think he

church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines
d rents with chearfulness, improve their lands, and
nk God they were to give out a moderate half value
but they held. I have heard a man of a thousand
ds a year talk with great contempt of bishops leases,
g on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and
certainly reason: my answer was, that such leases
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ought to chuſe another name of diſtinction for himſelf and his adherents. I came into the cauſe upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preſerve as long as I live. Shall we juſtify the accuſations of our adverſaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*—The TORIES and JACOBITES will behold us, with a malicious pleaſure, determined upon the ruin of our friends. For is not the preſent ſet of biſhops almoſt entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy? And a ſhort time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

AN impartial reader, if he pleaſes to examine what I have already ſaid, will eaſily anſwer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that the reaſon ſtill ſtrongly exiſts, for which that limiting law was enacted. A reaſonable man will wonder, where can be the inſufferable grievance, that an eccleſiaſtical landlord ſhould expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is at leaſt as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but ſeldom guilty of giving ſuch beneficial bargains. Has the nation been thrown into confuſion? and have many poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? Does the nation cry out to have a law that muſt in time ſend their biſhops a begging? But, God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church is not yet the cry, and I hope will never prove the voice of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that the people maintain them, any more than in the ſenſe that all landlords whatſoever are maintained by the people. Such aſſertions as theſe, and the inſinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by thoſe, who are for preſerving the happy conſtitution in church and ſtate. Whoever were the propoſers of ſuch queries, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more juſtice than prudence, by ſhewing at whoſe door the grievance lies, and that the biſhops at leaſt are not to anſwer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the Epiſcopal rent roll almoſt one half, let me ſuppoſe that all the church lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in ſuch a caſe ſit eaſier in their

rents

rents than they do now? or, would the money be equally ſpent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be ſcrewed up to the utmoſt penny by the agents and ſtewards of abſentees, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London: to which city a full third part of the whole income of Ireland is annually returned, to anſwer that ſingle article of maintenance for Iriſh landlords.

ANOTHER of his quarrels is againſt pluralities and non-reſidence: as to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well underſtood. The clergy having been ſtripped of the greateſt part of their revenues, the glebes being generally loſt, the tythes in the hands of laymen, the churches demoliſhed, and the country depopulated; in order to preſerve a face of chriſtianity, it was neceſſary to unite ſmall vicarages ſufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a miniſter. The profit of ten or a dozen of theſe unions ſeldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few dignitaries, whoſe preferments are perhaps more liable to this accuſation, it is to be ſuppoſed, they may be favourites of the time; or perſons of ſuperior merit, for whom there hath ever been ſome indulgence in all governments.

As to non-reſidence, I believe there is no chriſtian country upon earth, where the clergy have leſs to anſwer for upon that article. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who properly ſpeaking can be termed non-reſidents: for ſurely we are not to reckon in that number thoſe, who for want of glebes are forced to retire to the neareſt neighbouring village for a cabin to put their heads in; the leading man of the pariſh, when he makes the greateſt clamour, being leaſt diſpoſed to accommodate the miniſter with an acre of ground. And indeed, conſidering the difficulties the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to *me*, how they are able to perform that part of their duty ſo well as they do.

THERE is a * noble author, who hath lately addreſſed to the houſe of COMMONS an excellent diſcourſe for the encouragement of agriculture; full of moſt uſeful hints, which I hope that honourable aſſembly will conſider

* *The late* Lord Moleſworth.

ſider as they deſerve. I am not a ſtranger to his Lordſhip; and excepting in what relates to the church, there are few perſons with whoſe opinions I am better pleaſed to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of tythes upon the clergy and their proctors. His Lordſhip is above conſidering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meaneſt farmer hath all manner of advantages againſt the moſt powerful clergyman, by whom it is impoſſible he can be wronged, altho' the miniſter were ever ſo evil diſpoſed; the whole ſyſtem of teizing, perplexing, and defrauding the proctor, or his maſter, being as well known to every plowman, as the reaping or ſowing of his corn, and much more artfully practiſed. Beſides, the leading man in the pariſh muſt have his tythes at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many ſkilful obſervers, whoſe intereſt was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his Lordſhip's diſcontent againſt the biſhops-court, I ſhall not interpoſe farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their juſt dues by a more ſhort, deciſive, and compulſive method, than ſuch a cramped and limited juriſdiction will allow.

His Lordſhip is not the only perſon diſpoſed to give the clergy the honour of being the ſole encouragers of all new improvements. If hops, hemp, flax, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy alone muſt reward the induſtrious farmer by abatement of the tythe. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would pleaſe to abate proportionably in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man juſt drop from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at leaſt as reaſonable?

I believe no man will diſpute his Lordſhip's title to his eſtate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of tythes, which he mentions with ſome emotion. I ſuppoſe the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the ſame reaſon that a maxim in law hath more weight in the world, than an article of faith. And yet I think there may be ſuch a thing as ſacrilege; becauſe it is frequently men-

mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as described in holy writ. This I am ſure of; that his Lordſhip would at any time excuſe a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itſelf in his properties without his own conſent.

THE obſervations I have made upon his Lordſhip's diſcourſe, have not I confeſs been altogether proper to my ſubject: however, ſince he hath been pleaſed therein to offer ſome propoſals to the houſe of Commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuſe me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the deſire of defending liberty and property, that he hath ſo ſtrenuouſly and conſtantly maintained.

BUT the other writer openly declares for a law impowering the biſhops to ſet fee-farms; and ſays "Who-"ever intimates, that they will deny their conſent to ſuch "a reaſonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are "enemies to them and the church." Whether this be his real opinion, or only a ſtrain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my ſentiments are ſo directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and conſiders what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church eſtabliſhed under the hierarchy of biſhops, or will never conſent to any law, that ſhall repeal or elude the limiting clauſe relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*, "For the preſervation of the inhe-"ritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the "church and perſons eccleſiaſtical"; which was grounded upon reaſons, that do ſtill and muſt for ever ſubſiſt.

October 21,
1723.

The PRESBYTERIANS PLEA of MERIT in order to take off the TEST, impartially examined.

[Written in the year 1731 *.]

WE have been told in the common news papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the Preſbyterians and their abettors for taking off the teſt; as a kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once their light would ſo ſhine, the Papiſts delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a dog, before he preſcribes it to a human creature †.

THE

* See a letter on this ſubject, P. 224. of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the ſame occaſion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and ſpirit, by ſaying,—"We have been told in the common news papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the Preſbyterians and their abettors for taking off the teſt; as a kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once their light would ſo ſhine, the Papiſts delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a dog, before he preſcribes it to a human creature."——I have quoted this ſhort paſſage for the ſtyle, as well as the matter; and I dare ſay, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general obſervation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and alluſions, with a juſtneſs particularly delicate and exact, and without the leaſt ſtiffneſs or affectation. I have formerly mentioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Diſſenters, eſpecially the Preſbyterians [above, p. 224.]; and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the ſame ſubject. *Orrery.* And ſo it is placed in this edition.

THE Preſbyterians have, ever ſince the Revolution, directed their learned caſuiſts to employ their pens on this ſubject by ſhewing the merits and pretenſions, upon which they claim this juſtice, as founded upon the ſervices they did towards the reſtoration of King Charles II. and at the Revolution under the Prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the moſt ſingular in their kind that ever were offered in the face of the ſun againſt the moſt glaring lights of truth, and againſt a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I ſhall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the Preſbyterians upon thoſe two great events; and the pretenſions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

SOON after the reformation of the church in England under Edward VI. upon Queen Mary's ſucceeding to the crown (who reſtored Popery), many Proteſtants fled out of England to eſcape the perſecution raiſed againſt the church, as her brother had left it eſtabliſhed. Some of theſe exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of biſhops; with many other refinements. Theſe Engliſh exiles readily embraced the Geneva ſyſtem; and having added further improvements of their own, upon Queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly againſt Epiſcopacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and antient in the church: building upon this foundation; to run as far as poſſible from Popery even in the moſt minute and indifferent circumſtances. This faction, under the name of *puritan*, became very turbulent during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and were always diſcouraged by that wiſe Queen, as well as by her two ſucceſſors. However, their numbers, as well as their inſolence and perverſeneſs ſo far increaſed, that ſoon after the death of King James I. many inſtances of their petulancy and ſcurrility are to be ſeen in their pamphlets written for ſome years after (which was a trade they began in the days of Queen Elizabeth) particularly with great rancour againſt the biſhops, the habits, and the ceremonies: ſuch were thoſe ſcurrilous libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, and ſeveral others. And

altho'

altho' the Earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a ſtate of perfect peace and happineſs, without the leaſt appearance of thought or deſign towards making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found, by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640 full of as bold and impious railing expreſſions againſt the lawful power of the crown, and the order of biſhops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion or the whole ſubſequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However I find it manifeſt, that Puritaniſm did not erect itſelf into a new ſeparate ſpecies of religion till ſome time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of King James I. and the former part of his ſon, there were ſeveral puritan biſhops, and many puritan private clergymen; while people went as their inclinations led them to hear preachers of each party in the pariſh churches; for the puritan clergy had received epiſcopal orders as well as the reſt. But ſoon after the rebellion broke out, the term *puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *preſbyterian* ſucceeded; which ſect was in two or three years eſtabliſhed in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, without conſulting the King, who was then at war againſt his rebels. And from this period the church continued under perſecution, until monarchy was reſtored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party riſen, and gowing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of *independent*: it ſpread indeed ſomewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the Preſbyterians either in weight or number, until the very time the King was murdered.

When the King, who was then a priſoner in the iſle of Wight, had made his laſt conceſſions for a peace to the commiſſioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London they reported his Majeſty's anſwer in the houſe. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow ſays, had ſecured their own terms with that Prince, managed with ſo much art as to obtain a majority in a thin houſe for paſſing a vote, that

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the King's conceſſions were a ground for a future ſettlement: But the great officers of the army joining with the diſcontented members came to a reſolution of excluding all thoſe who had conſented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the General, a rigid Preſbyterian, of this reſolution; who thereupon iſſued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Weſtminſter-hall, the court of requeſts, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the General in conjunction with thoſe members who had oppoſed the vote, would let no member enter the houſe except thoſe of their own party. Upon which the queſtion for bringing the King to juſtice was immediately put, and carried, without oppoſition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himſelf was one; altho' by the advice or threats of his wife he declined ſitting among them. However, by freſh orders under his own hand, which I have ſeen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewiſe to prevent any oppoſition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced it appears manifeſt, that the differences between thoſe two ſects, Preſbyterian and Independent, did not then amount to half ſo much as what there is between a Whig and Tory at preſent among us. The deſign of utterly extirpating monarchy and Epiſcopacy was equally the ſame in both; evidently the conſequence of the very ſame principles, upon which the Preſbyterians alone began, continued, and would have ended in the ſame events; if towards the concluſion they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the ſpoil. However, they held a good ſhare of civil and military employments during the whole time of the uſurpation; and their names, actions and preferments are frequent in the accounts of thoſe times. For I make no doubt, that all the prudent Preſbyterians complied in proper ſeaſons, falling in with the ſtream; and thereby got that ſhare in employments, which many of them held to the reſtoration;

tion; and perhaps too many of them after. In the ſame manner we find our wiſeſt Tories in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and meaſures at the Queen's death, have endeavoured for ſeveral years by due compliances to recover the time they had loſt by a temporary obſtinacy; wherein they have well ſucceeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whoſe names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modeſty. As to what is alledged, that ſome of the Preſbyterians declared openly againſt the King's murder; I allow it to be true. But from what motives? No other can poſſibly be aſſigned than perfect ſpight, rage, and envy, to find themſelves wormed out of all power by a new infant ſpawn of Independents ſprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national aſſemblies. But where-ever intereſt or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the oppoſite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we ſee at this day, that the Tories are more hated by the whole ſet of zealous Whigs, than the very Papiſts themſelves; and in effect as much unqualified for the ſmalleſt office; altho' both theſe parties aſſert themſelves to be of the ſame religion in all its branches of doctrine and diſcipline; and profeſs the ſame loyalty to the ſame Proteſtant King and his heirs.

IF the reader would know what became of this Independent party, upon whom all the miſchief is charged by their Preſbyterian brethren, he may pleaſe to obſerve, that during the whole uſurpation they contended by degrees with their parent ſect, and as I have already ſaid, ſhared in employments; and gradually, after the reſtoration, mingled with the maſs of Preſbyterians: lying ever ſince undiſtinguiſhed in the herd of diſſenters.

THE Preſbyterian merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themſelves inſtrumental towards the King's reſtoration. The kingdom grew tired with thoſe ridiculous models of government: firſt by a houſe of Lords and Commons without a King; then without biſhops; afterwards

wards by a rump * and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a ſingle perſon for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of repreſentatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other ſchemes that have ſlipt out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his ſon Richard a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the ſame manner with the two uſurping kings of Brentford †; the people haraſſed with taxes and other oppreſſions. The King's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their ſpirits. The few nobility ſcattered thro' the kingdom, who lived in a moſt retired manner, obſerving the confuſion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *rump* aſſembly grew deſpicable to thoſe, who had raiſed them: the city of London exhauſted by almoſt twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared againſt them. The *rump*, after many deaths and reſurrections, was in the moſt contemptuous manner kicked out and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in: a free Parliament called in as legal a manner as the times would allow, and the King reſtored.

THE ſecond claim of Preſbyterian merit is founded upon their ſervices againſt the dangerous deſigns of King James II.; while that Prince was uſing all his endeavours to introduce Popery, which he openly profeſſed upon his coming to the crown: to this they add their eminent ſervices at the revolution under the Prince of Orange.

Now the *quantum* of Preſbyterian merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill adviſed Prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will eaſily be computed by a recourſe to a great number of hiſtories, pamphlets and public papers, printed in thoſe times and ſome afterwards; beſides the verbal teſtimonies of many

* This name was given to that part of the houſe of Commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force. *Hawkeſ.*

† In the Rehearſal. *Hawkeſ.*

many perſons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and obſerved the Diſſenters conduct in that critical period..

IT is agreed, that upon King Charles II.'s death, ſoon after his ſucceſſor had publicly owned himſelf a Roman Catholic, he began with his firſt careſſes to the church party; from whom having received very cold diſcouraging anſwers, he applied to the Preſbyterian leaders and teachers; being adviſed by his prieſts and Popiſh courtiers, that the ſafeſt method towards introducing his own religion would be by taking off the ſacramental teſt, and giving a full liberty of conſcience to all religions, (I ſuppoſe that profeſſed Chriſtianity.) It ſeems that the Preſbyterians in the latter years of King Charles II. upon account of certain plots (allowed by Biſhop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a ſhort time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon theſe charitable Chriſtians, out of perfect reſentment againſt the church, received the gracious offers of King James with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, and higheſt acknowledgements for his favour. I have ſeen ſeveral of their addreſſes, full of thanks and praiſes, with bitter inſinuations of what they had ſuffered; putting themſelves and the Papiſts upn the ſame foot, as fellow-ſufferers for conſcience; and with the ſtyle of our brethren the Roman Catholics. About this time began the project of cloſeting (which hath ſince been practiſed many times with more art and ſucceſs) where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechiſed by his Majeſty to know whether, if a new Parliament were called, they would agree to paſs an act for repealing the ſacramental teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience. But he received ſo little encouragement, that deſpairing of ſucceſs, he had recourſe to his diſpenſing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination he preferred ſeveral Preſbyterians, and many Papiſts, to civil and military employments. While the King was thus buſied, it is well known that Monſieur Fagel the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange concerning the repeal of the teſt; whereof the King had ſent an account to their Highneſſes, to know how far they approved of it

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The ſubſtance of their anſwer, as reported by Fagel, was this, "That their Highneſſes thought very well of a "liberty of conſcience; but by no means of giving em-"ployments to any other perſons than thoſe who were of "the national church." This opinion was confirmed by ſeveral reaſons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, altho' it hath been printed in many accounts of thoſe times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps ſubmit to: but to truſt any part of the civil power in the hands of thoſe whoſe intereſt, inclination, conſcience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different ſyſtem of religion and government, hath very few examples in any chriſtian ſtate; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroneſs of univerſal toleration.

Upon the firſt intelligence King James received of an intended invaſion by the Prince of Orange, among great numbers of Papiſts to increaſe his troops he gave commiſſions to ſeveral Preſbyterians; ſome of whom had been officers under the *rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted Preſbyterian, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raiſed in England againſt the Prince of Orange: the colonel made his ſon a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a Preſbyterian as his father. However, at the time of the Prince's landng, the father, eaſily foreſeeing how things would go, went over like many others to the Prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to aſſiſt in raiſing the ſiege of Derry, he behaved himſelf ſo like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now conſider the conduct of the church party during the whole reign of that unfortunate King. They were ſo unanimous againſt promiſing to paſs an act for repealing the teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience, that the King durſt not truſt a Parliament; but encouraged by the profeſſions of loyalty given him by his Preſbyterian friends, went on with his diſpenſing power.

The church clergy at that time are allowed to have written the beſt collection of tracts againſt Popery, that

ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the higheſt eſteem. But upon the ſtricteſt inquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers publiſhed by the Preſbyterians at that time upon the ſame ſubject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the reſt) were ſent to the tower for preſenting a petition, wherein they deſired to be excuſed in not obeying an illegal command from the King. The Biſhop of London, Dr Compton, was ſummoned to anſwer before the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs for not ſuſpending Dr Sharp (afterwards Archbiſhop of York) by the King's command. If the Preſbyterians expreſſed the ſame zeal upon any occaſion, the inſtances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or tranſmitted by tradition. The proceedings againſt Magdalen college in Oxford, for refuſing to comply with the King's mandate for admitting a profeſſed Papiſt upon their foundation, are a ſtanding proof of the courage and firmneſs in religion ſhewn by that learned ſociety to the ruin of their fortunes. The Preſbyterians know very well, that I could produce many more inſtances of the ſame kind. But theſe are enough in ſo ſhort a paper as I intend at preſent.

IT is indeed very true, that after King William was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, the Preſbyterians began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new King having been originally bred a Calviniſt was deſirous enough to make them eaſy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; altho' in his heart he never bore much affection to that ſect; nor deſigned to favour them farther than as it ſtood with the preſent ſcheme of politics; as I have long ſince been aſſured by the greateſt men of Whig principles at that time in England.

IT is likewiſe true, nor will it be denied, that when the King was poſſeſſed of the Engliſh crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the Preſbyterians wiſely choſe to join with the Proteſtant army, rather than with that of King James their old friend, whoſe affairs were then in a manner deſperate. They were wiſe enough to know, that this kingdom divided againſt itſelf could never prevail againſt the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis*; for their eſtates and religion; which latter will never ſuffer ſo much by the

the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we: and conſequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a Proteſtant army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties againſt a Popiſh enemy under an abdicated king; is, I confeſs, to me abſolutely inconceivable; and I believe will equally be ſo for ever to any reaſonable man.

When theſe ſectaries were ſeveral years ago making the ſame attempt for aboliſhing the teſt, many groundleſs reports were induſtriouſly and ſeaſonably ſpread of an invaſion threatened by the Pretender on the north of Ireland. At which time the Preſbyterians in their pamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the Pretender ſhould invade thoſe parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and eſtates of the Diſſenters chiefly lay, they would ſit ſtill, and let us fight our own battles: ſince they were to reap no advantage, which ever ſide ſhould be victors. If this were the courſe they intended to take in ſuch a caſe, I deſire to know how they could contrive ſafely to ſtand neuters, otherwiſe than by a compact with the Pretender and his army to ſupport their neutrality, and protect them againſt the forces of the crown? This is a neceſſary ſuppoſition; becauſe they muſt otherwiſe have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration they ſufficiently ſhewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door; that a Scottiſh or northern Preſbyterian hates our Epiſcopal eſtabliſhed church more than Popery itſelf. And the reaſon for this hatred is natural enough; becauſe it is the church alone, that ſtands in the way between them and power, which Popery doth not.

Upon this occaſion I am in ſome doubt, whether the political ſpreaders of thoſe chimerical invaſions made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprize. Nor can I well underſtand the wiſdom of the Preſbyterians in countenancing and confirming thoſe reports; becauſe it ſeems to caſt a moſt infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for if there had been any truth in the matter, the conſequence muſt have been allowed, that the Pretender counted upon more aſſiſtance from his

father's friends the Preſbyterians by chuſing to land in thoſe very parts, where their number, wealth and power moſt prevailed, rather than among thoſe of his own religion. And therefore in charity to this ſect I rather incline to believe, that thoſe reports of an invaſion were formed and ſpread by the race of ſmall politicians, in order to do a ſeaſonable jobb.

As to Popery in general, which for a thouſand years paſt hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and diſcipline; I look upon it to be the moſt abſurd ſyſtem of Chriſtianity profeſſed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The eſtates of Papiſts are very few; crumbling into ſmall parcels, and daily diminiſhing; their common people are ſunk in poverty, ignorance and cowardice; and of as little conſequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at leaſt one half ruined, baniſhed, or converted; they all ſoundly feel the ſmart of what they ſuffered in the laſt Iriſh war: ſome of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the reſt, I believe, to a man, who ſtill poſſeſs any lands, are abſolutely determined never to hazard them again for the ſake of eſtabliſhing their ſuperſtition. If it hath been thought fit, as ſome obſerve, to abate of the law's rigour againſt Popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wiſe reaſons, conſidering the ſituation of affairs abroad at different times, and the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion in general. And as I do not find the leaſt fault in this proceeding; ſo I do not conceive, why a ſunk diſcarded party, who neither expect nor deſire any thing more than a quiet life, ſhould under the names of *high-flyers*, *jacobites*, and many other vile appellations, be charged ſo often in print and at common tables with endeavouring to introduce Popery and the Pretender; while the Papiſts abhor them above all other men on account of ſeverities againſt their prieſts in her late Majeſty's reign, when the now diſbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced of ſome years ago by a long journey into the ſouthern parts; where I had the curioſity to ſend for many prieſts of the pariſhes I paſſed thro', and to my great ſatisfaction found them every where abounding in

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profeſſions of loyalty to the late King George; for which they gave me the reaſons above mentioned; at the ſame time complaining bitterly of the hardſhips they ſuffered under the QUEEN's *laſt miniſtry*.

I return from this digreſſion to the modeſt demands of the Preſbyterians for a repeal of the ſacramental teſt, as a reward for their merits at the reſtoration and the revolution; which merits I have fairly repreſented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any miſtakes, they muſt be of little moment. The facts and principal circumſtances are what I have obtained and digeſted from reading the hiſtories of thoſe times written by each party; and many thouſands have done the ſame as well as I, who I am ſure have in their minds drawn the ſame concluſions.

THIS is the faction, and theſe the men, who are now reſuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which of all others they have the leaſt pretenſions to offer. I have collected the facts with all poſſible impartiality from the current hiſtories of thoſe times; and have ſhewn, altho' very briefly, the gradual proceedings of thoſe ſectaries under the denominations of *Puritans*, *Preſbyterians* and *Independents* for about the ſpace of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth to this preſent time. But notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid, theſe very ſchiſmatics (for ſuch they are in temporals as well as ſpirituals) are now again expecting, ſoliciting and demanding (not without inſinuated threats, according to their cuſtom) that the Parliament ſhould fix them upon an equal foot with the church eſtabliſhed. I would fain know to what branch of the legiſlature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my Lords the biſhops; who muſt have often read how the predeceſſors of this very faction, acting upon the ſame principles, drove the whole bench out of the houſe; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three eſtates: not to the temporal peers, the ſecond of the three eſtates, who muſt have heard, that immediately after thoſe rebellious fanatics had murdered their king, they voted a houſe of Lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous, and would let them ſit no longer, otherwiſe than when elected as Commoners: not to the

houſe of Commons; who muſt have heard, that in thoſe fanatic times the Preſbyterian and Independent commanders in the army by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the houſe, and left a *rump* to govern the nation: laſtly, not to the crown; which thoſe very *ſaints* deſtined *to rule the earth* trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the bleſſed wearer.

BUT the ſeſſion now approaching, and a clan of diſſenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and ſupported by a general contribution to ſolicit their eſtabliſhment with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper ſhould ſee the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confeſſing, that if the Preſbyterians ſhould obtain their ends, I could not be ſorry to find them miſtaken in the point, which they have moſt at heart by the repeal of the teſt; I mean the benefit of employments. For after all, what aſſurance can a Scottiſh northern Diſſenter born on Iriſh ground have, that he ſhall be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have ſaid will avail but little. I have the common excuſe of other men, when I think myſelf bound by all religious and civil ties to diſcharge my conſcience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occaſion. It is true, the advocates for this ſcheme promiſe a new world after this bleſſed work ſhall be compleated; that all animoſity and faction muſt immediately drop; that the only diſtinction in this kingdom will then be of Papiſt and Proteſtant: for as to "Whig and Tory, high church and low church, Jacobite "and Hanoverian, court and country party, Engliſh and "Iriſh intereſts, Diſſenters and Conformiſts, new light and "old light, Anabaptiſt and Independent, Quaker and "Muggletonian;" they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony at the ſeſſions and aſſizes, on the bench and in the revenues; and upon the whole, in all civil and military truſts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wiſely argued thus: that a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is againſt the rules of good manners to ſhut any perſon

perſon out of the company, except the Papiſts, who profeſs themſelves of another club.

I am at a loſs to know, what arts the Preſbyterian ſect intends to uſe in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their Independent rivals) as ſoon as the King's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be againſt monarchy, as well as epiſcopacy and the houſe of Lords, even until the King was reſtored: at which event altho' they were forced to ſubmit to the preſent power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle, by which their predeceſſors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at leaſt to ſhew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like diſputes. I own, they will be ready enough to inſinuate themſelves into any government: but if they mean to be honeſt and upright, they will and muſt endeavour by all means, which they ſhall think lawful, to introduce and eſtabliſh their own ſcheme of religion, as neareſt approaching to the word of God, by caſting out all ſuperſtitious ceremonies, eccleſiaſtical titles, habits, diſtinctions, and ſuperiorities, as rags of Popery, in order to a thorough reformation; and as in charity bound to promote the ſalvation of their countrymen, wiſhing with St Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are.* But what aſſurance will they pleaſe to give, that when their ſect ſhall become the national eſtabliſhed worſhip, they will treat US DISSENTERS as we have treated them? Was this their courſe of proceeding during the dominion of the *ſaints?* Were not all the remainders of the Epiſcopal church in thoſe days, eſpecially the clergy, under a perſecution for above a dozen years equal to that of the primitive chriſtians under heathen Emperors? That this proceeding was ſuitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books expreſsly againſt allowing any liberty of conſcience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the reſt one frequently inſiſted on; that allowing ſuch a liberty would be to

* The late Dr. TISDEL, who died June 1736.

to *eſtabliſh iniquity by a law* *. Many of theſe writings are yet to be ſeen; and I hear have been quoted by the doctor above mentioned.

As to their great objection of proſtituting that holy inſtitution, the bleſſed ſacrament, by way of a teſt before admittance into any employment; I aſk, whether they would not be content to receive it after their own manner for the office of a judge, for that of a commiſſioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horſe, or to be a Lord Juſtice. I believe they would ſcruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can ſay without bending a knee; for as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles is performed with little more ſolemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, ſince they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can nor ought in conſcience to allow us that liberty, otherwiſe than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the Papiſts. But leſt we ſhould offend them I am ready to change this teſt for another: altho' I am afraid, that ſanctified reaſon is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the ſacrament a teſt were the only objection. I therefore propoſe, that before the preſent law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no man ſhall receive any employment before he ſwears himſelf to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and diſcipline, *&c.* and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worſhip. It ſhall likewiſe be further enacted, that whoever offends, *&c.* ſhall be fined five hundred pounds, impriſoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all public truſt for ever. Otherwiſe I do inſiſt, that thoſe pious, indulgent, external profeſſors of our national religion ſhall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reaſon for taking off the teſt, or freely confeſs, that they deſire to have a gate wide open for every ſect without any teſt at all, except that of ſwearing.

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatiſe called, *Scotch Preſbyterian Eloquence.*

ſwearing loyalty to the King: which, however, conſidering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would pleaſe to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter teſt, than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For from the firſt time that theſe ſectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they profeſſed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at preſent three civil eſtabliſhments, where Calviniſts and ſome other reformers who rejected epiſcopacy, poſſeſs the ſupreme power; and theſe are all republics; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiſs Cantons. I do not ſay this in diminution or diſgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confeſs I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by ſome obſervation, long experience, and a thorough deteſtation for the corruptions of mankind: inſomuch, that I am now juſtly liable to the cenſure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the hiſtories of antient Greece and Rome, thoſe renowned ſcenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who muſt be ſuppoſed well to ſtudy and underſtand their own intereſt; they will beſt conſider, whether thoſe people, who in all their actions, preachings and writings have openly declared themſelves againſt regal power, are to be ſafely placed in an equal degree of favour and truſt with thoſe who have been always found the true and only friends to the Engliſh eſtabliſhment. From which conſideration, I could have added one more article to my new teſt, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been aſſured by ſome perſons who were preſent, that ſeveral of theſe diſſenting teachers, upon their firſt arrival hither to ſolicit the repeal of the teſt, were pleaſed to expreſs their gratitude by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the teſt muſt be delivered up by the very ſuperiors appointed to defend it; the affair is already in effect at an end. What ſecret reaſons thoſe patrons may have given for ſuch a return of brotherly love, I ſhall not inquire:

" for, O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecret; un-
" to their aſſembly, mine honour, be not thou united.
" For in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-
" will they digged down a wall. Curſed be their an-
" ger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was
" cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and ſcatter them
" in Iſrael."

The

The ADVANTAGES propoſed by repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially conſidered.

[Written in the year 1732.]

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this ſubject, muſt do it not only as a mere ſecular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular ſyſtem of chriſtianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worſhip and ceremony, which is looked upon as the eſtabliſhed; and conſequently, only the prieſts of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments beſtowed among thoſe, who comply (at leaſt outwardly) with the ſame eſtabliſhment.

THIS method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt liberty of conſcience of any chriſtian ſtate; and yet are never known to admit any perſons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worſhip. As to their military men, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a neceſſity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no ſmall number in time of peace.

THIS caution therefore of making one eſtabliſhed faith ſeems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt reaſons, the miſtaken or affected zeal of obſtinacy and enthuſiaſm having produced ſuch a number of horrible deſtructive events throughout all Chriſtendom. For whoever begins to think the national worſhip is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be ſerious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proſelytes as he can: and a nation may poſſibly have an hundred different ſects with their leaders; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they muſt *obey God rather than*

than man; muſt *cry aloud and ſpare not*; muſt *lift up their voice like a trumpet.*

THIS was the very caſe of England during the fanatic times. And againſt all this there ſeems to be no defence, but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed form of doctrine and diſcipline; leaving the reſt to a bare liberty of conſcience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

WHEREVER this national religion grows ſo corrupt, or is thought to do ſo by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether Prince or Senate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confuſion. Yet, whenever ſuch a change ſhall be made, ſome other eſtabliſhment muſt ſucceed, altho' for the worſe; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this ſenſe, thoſe who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itſelf, ſeem to be miſtaken: for many laws in popiſh kingdoms and ſtates, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly againſt the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

THUS for inſtance, if the three eſtates of parliament in England (whereof the Lords ſpiritual, who repreſent the church, are one) ſhould agree and obtain the royal aſſent to aboliſh epiſcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the Engliſh church, as burthenſome, dangerous and contrary to holy Scripture; and that preſbytery, anabaptiſm, quakeriſm, independency, Muggletonianiſm, Browniſm, familiſm, or any other ſubdivided ſect among us, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in its place: without queſtion all peaceable ſubjects ought paſſively to ſubmit; and the predominant ſect muſt become the religion eſtabliſhed; the public maintaining no other teachers, nor admitting any perſons of a different religious profeſſion into civil offices, at leaſt if their intention be to preſerve the nation in peace.

SUPPOSING then that the preſent ſyſtem of religion were aboliſhed, and preſbytery, which I find ſtands the faireſt, with its ſynods and claſſes, and all its forms and ceremonies, eſſential or circumſtantial, were erected into the

the national worſhip: their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be ſupported at the public charge, whether by ſtipends or tythes; and only the reſt of the ſame faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reaſoning in what I have laid down, it ſhould ſeem, that the project now in agitation for repealing the teſt act, and yet leaving the name of an eſtabliſhment to the preſent national church, is altogether inconſiſtent; and may admit of conſequences, which thoſe, who are the moſt indifferent to any religion at all, are poſſibly not aware of.

I preſume, whenever the teſt ſhall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all diſſenters (except Papiſts) whoſe conſciences can ſuffer them to take the common oaths in ſuch caſes preſcribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-ſtation in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an exciſe-man.

THUS, of the three judges on each bench, the firſt may be a Preſbyterian, the ſecond a Free-will baptiſt, and the third a Churchman; the Lord Chancellor may be an Independent; the revenues may be managed by ſeven commiſſioners of as many different ſects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the ſtrong probability, that the lawfulneſs of taking oaths may be revealed to the Quakers, who then will ſtand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal ſubjects. It is obvious to imagine, under ſuch a motly adminiſtration of affairs, what a claſhing there will be of intereſt and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and biaſs in each religioniſt to advance his own tribe, and depreſs the others. For I ſuppoſe nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent ſoever moſt men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obſtinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than thoſe who publicly ſhew the leaſt ſenſe either of religion or common honeſty.

As to the latter, Biſhop Burnet tells us, that the Preſ-

byterians in the fanatic times profeſſed themſelves to be above morality; which, as we find in ſome of their writings, was numbered among the beggarly elements: and accordingly at this day no ſcruples of conſcience with regard to conformity are in any trade or calling inconſiſtent with the greateſt fraud, oppreſſion, perjury, or any other vice.

THIS brings to my memory a paſſage in Montaigne, of a common proſtitute, who in the ſtorming of a town, when a ſoldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chaſtity, rather choſe to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than ſuffer a rape; yet ſtill continued her trade of lewdneſs, while ſhe had any cuſtomers left.

I confeſs, that in my private judgment an unlimited permiſſion of all ſects whatſoever (except Papiſts) to enjoy employments would be leſs pernicious to the public, than a fair ſtruggle between two contenders; becauſe in the former caſe, ſuch a jumble of principles might poſſibly have the effect of contrary poiſons mingled together; which a ſtrong conſtitution might perhaps be able for ſome time to ſurvive.

BUT however I ſhall take the other and more probable ſuppoſition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the Preſbyterians, and thoſe of the church yet eſtabliſhed. I ſhall not enter into the merits of either ſide, by examining which of the two is the better ſpiritual œconomy, or which is moſt ſuited to our civil conſtitution: but the queſtion turns upon this point; when the Preſbyterians ſhall have got their ſhare of employments (which muſt be one full half, or elſe they cannot look upon themſelves as fairly dealt with), I aſk, whether they ought not by their own principles, and by the ſtricteſt rules of conſcience, to uſe the utmoſt of their ſkill, power and influence in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and diſcipline moſt agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can ſucceed without blood (as under the preſent diſpoſition of things it is very poſſible they may) it is to be hoped they will at laſt be ſatisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The firſt is of compromiſing among themſelves that important controverſy about the

the Old Light and the New; which otherwiſe may after this eſtabliſhment ſplit them as wide as Papiſt and Proteſtant, Whig and Tory, or Churchman and Diſſenter; and conſequently the work will be to begin again: for in religious quarrels it is of little moment, how few or ſmall the differences are; eſpecially when the diſpute is only about power. Thus the zealous Preſbyterians of the North are more alienated from the eſtabliſhed clergy, than from the Romiſh prieſts; taxing the former with idolatrous worſhip, as diſguiſed Papiſts, Ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reaſon: becauſe the clergy ſtand in their way, which the Popiſh prieſts do not. Thus I am aſſured that the quarrel between Old and New light-men is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other diſpute of the higheſt importance; and this, becauſe it ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

ANOTHER difficulty, which may embarraſs the Preſbyterians after their eſtabliſhment, will be how to adjuſt their claim of the kirk's independency on the civil power, with the conſtitution of this monarchy: a point ſo delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy without the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion.

As to the Preſbyterians allowing liberty of conſcience to thoſe of epiſcopal principles, when their own kirk ſhall be predominant; their writers are ſo univerſally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reaſonable churchman (who muſt then be a diſſenter) will expect it.

I ſhall here take notice, that in the diviſion of employments among the Preſbyterians after this approaching repeal of the teſt-act, ſuppoſing them in proper time to have an equal ſhare, the odds will be three or four to one on their ſide in any farther ſcheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all thoſe gentlemen ſent over from England, whatever religion they profeſs or have been educated in, to be of that party: ſince it is no mark of prudence for any perſons to oppoſe the current of a nation, where they are in ſome ſort only ſojourners; unleſs they have it in direction.

IF there be any maxim in politics not to be controuled, it muſt be the following: that thoſe, whoſe private intereſt is united with the intereſt of their country, ſuppoſing them to be of equal underſtanding with the reſt of their neighbours, will heartily wiſh, that the nation ſhould thrive. Out of theſe are indubitably excepted all perſons, who are ſent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; becauſe they cannot poſſibly bear any affection to the place where they ſojourn, even for life; their ſole buſineſs being to advance themſelves by following the advice of their principals. I except likewiſe thoſe perſons, who are taken into offices, altho' natives of the land; becauſe they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could poſſibly be by mending the miſerable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopers, who by balancing accounts with themſelves turn the ſcale on the ſame ſide; becauſe the ſtrong expectation of a good certain ſalary will outweigh the loſs by bad rents received out of lands in money-leſs times.

IF my Lords the biſhops, who I hear are now employed in a ſcheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, ſhall in their wiſdom and piety and love of the church conſent to this repeal of the teſt, I have not the leaſt doubt, that the whole reverend body will chearfully ſubmit to their ſpiritual fathers; of whoſe paternal tenderneſs for their welfare they have already found ſo many amazing inſtances.

I am not therefore under the leaſt concern about the clergy on this account. They will (*for ſome time*) be no great ſufferers by this repeal; becauſe I cannot recollect among all our ſects any one, that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an inſtitution to a church-living; and until that bar ſhall be removed, the preſent epiſcopal clergy are ſafe for two years. Altho' it may be thought ſomewhat unequal, that in the northern parts, where there may be three diſſenters to one churchman, the whole revenue ſhall be engroſſed by him who hath ſo ſmall a part of the cure.

IT is true indeed, that this diſadvantage, which the Diſſenters at preſent lie under, of a diſability to receive church-

church-preferments, will be eaſily remedied by the repeal of the teſt. For the diſſenting teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the Popiſh clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief miniſters, knights of many orders, ambaſſadors, ſecretaries of ſtate, and in moſt high offices under the crown; altho' they aſſert the indelible character, which no ſectaries among us did ever aſſume. But that many, both Preſbyterians and Independants, commanders as well as private ſoldiers, were profeſſed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himſelf was a preacher; and hath left us one of his ſermons in print, exactly in the ſame ſtyle and manner with thoſe of our modern Preſbyterian teachers: ſo was colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and ſeveral others whoſe names are on record. I can therefore ſee no reaſon, why a painful Preſbyterian teacher, as ſoon as the teſt ſhall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold along with the ſpiritual office and ſtipend a commiſſion in the army or the civil liſt in *commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of chriſtians, which in effect diſqualifies thoſe, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from ſharing in the civil power, farther than as ſenators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of Popery, many hundred years before the Reformation, and woven with the very inſtitution of our limited monarchy.

THERE is indeed another method, whereby the ſtipends of diſſenting teachers may be raiſed, and the farmer much relieved; if it ſhould be thought proper to reward a people ſo deſerving, and ſo loyal by their principles. Every biſhop upon the vacancy of a church-living can ſequeſter the profits for the uſe of the next incumbent. Upon a lapſe of half a year the donation falls to the archbiſhop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleaſure. Therefore it would be no hardſhip for any clergyman alive, if (in thoſe parts of Ireland, where the number of ſectaries much exceeds that of the conformiſts) the profits, when ſequeſtered, might be applied to the ſupport of the diſſenting teacher, who hath ſo many ſouls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

[Written in the year 1732.]

QUERY, WHETHER hatred and violence between parties in a ſtate be not more inflamed by different views of intereſt, than by the greater or leſſer differences between them either in religion or government?

WHETHER it be any part of the queſtion at this time, which of the two religions is worſe, *popery* or *fanaticiſm*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the ſame good will) is in the hopefulleſt condition to ruin the church?

WHETHER the ſectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the *papiſts*?

WHETHER the prevailing ſectaries could allow liberty of conſcience to diſſenters without belying all their former practice, and almoſt all their former writings?

WHETHER many hundred thouſand Scotch Preſbyterians are not full as virulent againſt the Epiſcopal church, as they are againſt the Papiſts; or as they would have us think the Papiſts are againſt them?

WHETHER the Dutch, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed for allowing liberty of conſcience, do ever admit any perſons, who profeſs a different ſcheme of worſhip from their own, into civil employments, altho' they may be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

WHETHER the Diſſenters ever pretended, until of late years, to deſire more than a bare toleration?

WHETHER, if it be true, what a ſorry pamphleteer aſſerts, who lately writ for repealing the teſt, that the Diſſenters in this kingdom are equally numerous with the Churchmen, it would not be a neceſſary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their further increaſe?

THE

THE great argument given by thoſe, whom they call *low* churchmen, to juſtify the large tolerations allowed to diſſenters hath been; that by ſuch indulgencies the rancour of thoſe ſectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query; Whether, if what the above pamphleteer aſſerts, that the ſectaries are equal in numbers with Conformiſts, be true, it doth not clearly follow, that thoſe repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what thoſe *low* church politicians pretended to foreſee and expect?

WHETHER any clergyman, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, if he think his own profeſſion moſt agreeable to holy ſcripture and the primitive church, can really wiſh in his heart, that all ſectaries ſhould be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

WHETHER Epiſcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apoſtolical inſtitution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that eſſential one of conferring holy orders?

WHETHER, by neceſſary conſequences, the ſeveral expedients among the ſectaries to conſtitute their teachers are not abſolutely null and void?

WHETHER the ſectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from biſhops?

WHETHER the biſhops and clergy will be content to give up Epiſcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well ſubſiſt?

WHETHER that great tenderneſs towards ſectaries, which now ſo much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of Popery, or to that ſpirit of Atheiſm, Deiſm, Scepticiſm, and univerſal immorality, which all good men ſo much lament?

GRANTING Popery to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the ſectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of theſe kingdoms with allowance for the ſhort time which the ſectaries had to act in, who are in a manner but of yeſterday. The Papiſts in the time of King James II. uſed all endeavours to eſtabliſh their ſuperſtition,

wherein

wherein they failed by the united power of Engliſh church-Proteſtants with the Prince of Orange's aſſiſtance. But it cannot be aſſerted, that theſe bigotted Papiſts had the leaſt deſign to oppoſe or murder their King, much leſs to aboliſh kingly government; nor was it their intereſt or inclination to attempt either.

On the other ſide the Puritans, who had almoſt from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's ſide, joining with the Scotch enthuſiaſts in the time of King Charles the firſt, were the principal cauſe of the Iriſh rebellion and maſſacre by diſtreſſing that Prince, and making it impoſſible for him to ſend over timely ſuccours. And after that pious Prince had ſatisfied his parliament in every ſingle point to be complained of, the ſame ſectaries, by poiſoning the minds and affections of the people with the moſt falſe and wicked repreſentations of their King, were able in the compaſs of a few years to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expence of many thouſand lives: to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their Prince in the face of the world, and (in their own ſtyle) to deſtroy the church *root and branch*.

The account therefore ſtands thus. The Papiſts aimed at one pernicious act, which was to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the aſſiſtance of our glorious King William, they abſolutely failed. The ſectaries attempted the three moſt infernal actions, that could poſſibly enter into the hearts of men forſaken by God; which were, the murder of a moſt pious king, the deſtruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and ſucceeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of thoſe ſectaries have ever yet in a ſolemn public manner renounced any one of thoſe principles, upon which their predeceſſors then acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel perſecutions of the Epiſcopal church during the courſe of that horrid rebellion and the conſequences of it until the happy reſtoration, it is not manifeſt, that the perſecuting ſpirit lies ſo equally divided between the Papiſts and the ſectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either ſide?

And therefore, laſtly, Whether any perſon of common under-

underſtanding, who profeſſeth himſelf a member of the church eſtabliſhed, altho' perhaps with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the caſe) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can after cool thinking rejoice to ſee a power placed again in the hands of ſo reſtleſs, ſo ambitious, and ſo mercileſs a faction, to act over all the ſame parts a ſecond time?

WHETHER the candor of that expreſſion ſo frequent of late in ſermons and pamphlets, of the ſtrength and number of the Papiſts in Ireland, can be juſtified? for as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politics of the ſpeaker and writer; but it is a groſs impoſition upon common reaſon to terrify us with their ſtrength. For Popery, under the circumſtances it lies in this kingdom, altho' it be offenſive and inconvenient enough from the conſequences it hath to increaſe the rapine, ſloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that ſenſe, as ſome would have us to take it; becauſe it is univerſally hated by every party of a different religious profeſſion. It is the contempt of the wiſe; the beſt topic for clamours of deſigning men; but the real terror only of fools. The landed Popiſh intereſt in England far exceeds that among us even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into Proteſtant hands by purchaſe or deſcent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts will fall with the cauſe of it in half a generation, unleſs it be raiſed or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The Papiſts are wholly diſarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclination to rebel: they want every advantage which they formerly poſſeſſed, to follow that trade; and wherein, even with thoſe advantages, they always miſcarried: they appear very eaſy and ſatisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole laſt reign; nor ever ſcrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have ſuffered ſo much ſeverity.

UPON theſe conſiderations I muſt confeſs to have ſuſpended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of Popery; many of whom appear to be hale, ſtrong, active, young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and ſleep heartily;

heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reaſon) upon all other ſubjects. However I cannot too much commend the generous concern which our neighbours, and others who come from the ſame neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for us upon this account; altho' the former be farther removed from the danger of Popery by twenty leagues of ſalt water; but this, I fear, is a digreſſion.

When an artificial report was raiſed here many years ago of an intended invaſion by the Pretender, (which blew over after it had done its office) the Diſſenters argued in their talk and in their pamphlets after this manner, applying themſelves to thoſe of the church: Gentlemen, if the Pretender had landed, as the law now ſtands, we durſt not aſſiſt you; and therefore, unleſs you take off the teſt, whenever you ſhall happen to be invaded in earneſt, if we are deſired to take up arms in your defence, our anſwer ſhall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourſelves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reaſoning I have heard from ſeveral of their chiefs and abetters in an hundred converſations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project ſhould fail to take off the teſt.

Upon which piece of oratory and reaſoning I form the following query. Whether in caſe of an invaſion from the Pretender (which is not quite ſo probable as from the Grand-ſignior) the Diſſenters can with prudence and ſafety offer the ſame plea; except they ſhall have made a previous ſtipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned ſufficient motives for repelling invaſions? eſpecially in our ſectaries, who call themſelves the *trueſt Proteſtants*, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceneſs againſt Popery.

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the bleſſed King Charles I. enjoined by act of parliament, can be juſtly reckoned a particular and diſtinguiſhing mark of good affection to the preſent government?

Whether

WHETHER in thoſe churches, where the ſaid day is obſerved, it will fully anſwer the intent of the ſaid act, if the preacher ſhall commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion with all its conſequences, the following uſurpations, the entire deſtruction of the church, the cruel and continual perſecutions of thoſe who could be diſcovered to profeſs its doctrines, with the enſuing Babel of fanaticiſm, to the account of that bleſſed King, who, by granting the petition of right, and paſſing every bill that could be aſked for the ſecurity of the ſubject, had, by the confeſſion of thoſe wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

WHETHER ſuch a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many years paſt, even in the preſence of viceroys) who takes that courſe as a means for promotion, may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common road in a monarchy where the deſcendants of that moſt bleſſed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reaſon of making theſe queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland for repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS*.

[Written in the year 1732.]

IT is well known, that the firſt conquerors of this kingdom were Engliſh Catholics, ſubjects to Engliſh catholic kings, from whom by their valour and ſucceſs they obtained

* In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for repealing the teſt-act in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in England. The various arguments for it were anſwered in every ſhape; but no way more effectually, than by examining what pretence the Preſbyterians had to ſhare in all the privileges of government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or compared with thoſe of other ſectaries. Under the former head they were fully ſilenced by our author, in *The Presbyterians plea of merit impartially examined* [above, *p.* 258.] They are now put in the balance with Papiſts, whom altho' they have ſometimes ſtiled their brethren in adverſity, yet, when placed in competition, they will hate as brethren likewiſe. But let them here diſpute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of the eſtabliſhment. *Dub. edit.* 1745.

The author having before examined the Preſbyterians plea of merit, with reſpect to their own principles and practices, has in this tract put them in the balance againſt Papiſts. *Hawkeſ.*

This tract is written under the aſſumed character of a Roman Catholic; by which means the author attacks his adverſaries with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the ſeveral atrocious crimes of the Papiſts; but at the ſame time palliates them ſo ſkilfully, that, from that very acknowledgement, he enables himſelf to aim the heavier blows at the Preſbyterians. A paragraph extracted from the pamphlet will exemplify my meaning. [Here the particular paſſage is quoted, beginning thus: "We allow the "CATHOLICS to be BRETHREN of the diſſenters," *&c. p.* 294. *l.* 11. ending *p.* 294. *l.* 35.]——The greateſt art, and the keeneſt ſtrokes of irony, diſplay themſelves throughout the whole compoſition: and the concluſion of it is drawn up with a mixture of ſerious and ironical arguments that ſeem to defy all kinds of refutation. *Orrery.*

obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Iriſh: to which merit our brethren the Diſſenters of any denomination whatſoever have not the leaſt pretenſions.

IT is confeſſed, that the poſterity of thoſe firſt victorious Catholics were often forced to riſe in their own defence againſt new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Iriſh with innumerable oppreſſions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the moſt deſolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation the children of theſe tyrants were uſed in the ſame manner by new Engliſh adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no inſurrections were ever made, except after great oppreſſions by freſh invaders: Whereas all the rebellions of Puritans, Preſbyterians, Independents, and other ſectaries, conſtantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not ſuffered to change the government in church and ſtate, and ſeize both into their own hands; which however at laſt they did with the murder of their King, and of many thouſands of his beſt ſubjects.

THE Catholics were always defenders of monarchy, as conſtituted in theſe kingdoms; whereas our brethren the Diſſenters were always republicans both in principle and practice.

IT is well known, that all the Catholics of theſe kingdoms, both prieſts and laity, are true Whigs, in the beſt and moſt proper ſenſe of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profeſſion, an entire loyalty to the royal houſe of Hanover, in the perſon and poſterity of George II. againſt the Pretender and all his adherents. To which they think themſelves bound in gratitude as well as conſcience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated ſince the death of Queen Anne, ſo different from what they ſuffered in the four laſt years of that Princeſs, during the adminiſtration of that wicked miniſter the Earl of Oxford.

THE Catholics of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at leaſt as fair a title as any of their brother Diſſenters to the appellation of *Proteſtants*. They have always proteſted againſt the ſelling, dethroning, or murdering

dering their kings; againſt the uſurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; againſt deiſm, atheiſm, Socinianiſm, quakeriſm, Muggletonianiſm, fanaticiſm, Browniſm, as well as againſt all Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics. Whereas the title of *Proteſtants* aſſumed by the whole herd of diſſenters (except ourſelves) dependeth entirely upon their proteſting againſt archbiſhops, biſhops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expreſſions uſed in the ſolemn league and covenant *, where the word *popery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; becauſe the Catholics agree with the epiſcopal church in thoſe fundamentals.

ALTHO' the Catholics cannot deny, that in the great rebellion againſt King Charles I. more ſoldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his Majeſty's troops; and that many jeſuits and friers went about in the diſguiſe of preſbyterian and independent miniſters to preach up rebellion, as the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe times inform us; yet the bulk of Catholics in both kingdoms preſerved their loyalty entire.

THE Catholics have ſome reaſon to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not pleaſe to diſtinguiſh between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O Neal with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raiſed afterwards by the Catholic lords and gentlemen of the Engliſh pale in defence of the King, after the Engliſh rebellion began. It is well known, that his Majeſty's affairs were in great diſtraction ſome time before by an invaſion of the covenanting Scottiſh kirk rebels, and by the baſe terms the King was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which ſoon after ſet all in a flame. And if the Catholic army in Ireland fought for their King

* A ſolemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and Engliſh fanatics in the rebellion againſt King Charles I. 1643, by which they ſolemnly engaged among other things, "to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, archdeans, and all "other epiſcopal officers depending on that hierarchy."

Hawkeſ.

King againſt the forces ſent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion againſt him, what perſon of loyal principles can be ſo partial to deny, that they did their duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commiſſions from the King? for which great numbers of them loſt their lives, and forfeited their eſtates; a great part of the latter being now poſſeſſed by many deſcendants from thoſe very men, who had drawn their ſwords in the ſervice of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and deſtroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, altho' the ſame perſons, when the Iriſh were entirely ſubdued, continued in power under the *rump*, were chief confidents, and faithful ſubjects to Cromwell, yet being wiſe enough to foreſee a reſtoration, they ſeized the forts and caſtles here out of the hands of their old brethren in rebellion, for the ſervice of the King; juſt ſaving the tide, and putting in a ſtock of merit ſufficient not only to preſerve the land which the Catholics loſt by their loyalty, but likewiſe to preſerve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

THOSE inſurrections wherewith the Catholics are charged, from the beginning of the ſeventeenth century to the great Engliſh rebellion, were occaſioned by many oppreſſions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preſerving the old; the very ſame which their anceſtors profeſſed from the time that chriſtianity was firſt introduced into this iſland, which was by Catholics; but whether mingled with corruptions, as ſome pretend, doth not belong to the queſtion. They had no deſign to change the government; they never attempted to fight againſt, to impriſon, to betray, to ſell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their King. The ſchiſmatics acted by a ſpirit directly contrary; they united in a ſolemn league and covenant to alter the whole ſyſtem of ſpiritual government eſtabliſhed in all chriſtian nations, and of apoſtolic inſtitution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the King in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the ſame time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

THE Catholics of Ireland in the great rebellion loſt their eſtates for fighting in defence of their King. The ſchiſmatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the ſon to fly for his life, and overturned the whole antient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of thoſe very eſtates, which the Catholics loſt in defence of the antient conſtitution, many of which eſtates are at this day poſſeſſed by the poſterity of thoſe ſchiſmatics; and thus they gained by their rebellion, what the Catholics loſt by their loyalty.

WE allow the Catholics to be brethren of the Diſſenters; ſome people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have them to be our children, becauſe we both diſſent from the church eſtabliſhed, and both agree in aboliſhing this perſecuting ſacramental teſt; by which negative diſcouragement we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of theſe ſchiſmatics in calling the members of the national church *their brethren* and *fellow Proteſtants*. It is true, that all theſe ſects (except the Catholics) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverſeneſs, pride, and (if we except the Quakers) in rebellion. But, how the churchmen can be ſtiled their *fellow Proteſtants*, we cannot comprehend: becauſe, when the whole Babel of ſectaries joined againſt the church, the King and the nobility for twenty years in a MATCH AT FOOT BALL, where the proverb expreſsly tells us, that *all are* FELLOWS: while the three kingdoms were toſſed to and fro, the churches and cities and royal palaces ſhattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT BALL; but murdered, ſequeſtered, plundered, deprived, baniſhed to the plantations, or enſlaved all their oppoſers who had *loſt the game*.

IT is ſaid the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians aſſure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to diſtraction of their own opinions, and ſo much the more, as thoſe opinions are abſurd, ridiculous, or of little moment; it muſt follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with ſo much obſtinacy as thoſe

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in religion, eſpecially by ſuch zealots, who never bore the leaſt regard to religion, conſcience, honour, juſtice, truth, mercy, or common morality farther than in outward appearance, under the maſk of hypocriſy to promote their diabolical deſigns. And therefore Biſhop Burnet one of their oracles tells us honeſtly, that the *ſaints* of thoſe fanatic times pronounced themſelves above morality: which they reckoned among *beggarly elements*; but the meaning of theſe two laſt words thus applied we confeſs to be above our underſtanding.

AMONG thoſe kingdoms and ſtates which firſt embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the moſt regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the ſupreme power of a king* and the three eſtates in parliament; to which, as the higheſt legiſlative authority, all ſubjects are bound paſſively to ſubmit. Neither was there much blood ſhed on ſo great a change of religion. But a conſiderable number of lords, and other perſons of quality thro' the kingdom, ſtill continued in their old faith, and were, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or leſs in every reign, until the teſt act in the time of King Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of Catholics gradually and conſiderably leſſened. So that in the reign of King Charles I. England became in a great degree a Proteſtant kingdom, without taking the ſectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with reſpect to human laws, the Catholics never diſputed; but the Puritans, and other ſchiſmatics, without the leaſt pretence to any ſuch authority, by an open rebellion deſtroyed that legal reformation, as we obſerved before, murdered their King, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the Catholics, in ſuch a Babel of religions, choſe to adhere to their own faith left them by their anceſtors, rather than ſeek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves or deluded enthuſiaſts.

WE repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the ſupreme legiſlative power, we cannot diſpute the human legality of ſuch a change. But we humbly

* Henry VIII.

bly conceive, that if any conſiderable party of men which differs from an eſtabliſhment, either old or new, can deſerve liberty of conſcience, it ought to conſiſt of thoſe, who for want of conviction, or of right underſtanding the merits of each cauſe, conceive themſelves bound in conſcience to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; becauſe they are of all others leaſt likely to be authors of innovations either in church or ſtate.

On the other ſide; if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion againſt the King, without whoſe conſent by the nature of our conſtitution no law can paſs; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three eſtates, I mean the Commons, and not by one half even of thoſe Commons, and this by the aſſiſtance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the excluſion of nobles both lay and ſpiritual, (who conſtitute the other part of the three eſtates) by the murder of their King, and by aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of government; the Catholics cannot ſee why the ſucceſſors of thoſe ſchiſmatics, who are univerſally accuſed by all parties except themſelves, and a few infamous abettors, for ſtill retaining the ſame principles in religion and government, under which their predeceſſors acted; ſhould pretend to a better ſhare of civil or military truſt, profit and power than the Catholics, who during all that period of twenty years were continually perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, merely on account of their loyalty and conſtant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to thoſe arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt, which equally affect the Catholics, and their brethren the Diſſenters.

First, We agree with our fellow-Diſſenters, that * "perſecution merely for conſcience ſake is againſt the genius of the goſpel." And ſo likewiſe is "any law for "depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which "they claim as men." We are alſo ready enough to allow, that "the ſmalleſt negative diſcouragements for "uniformity's ſake are ſo many perſecutions." Becauſe it cannot be denied, that the ſcratch of a pin is in ſome degree a real wound, as much as a ſtab thro' the heart.

In

* *Vid.* Reaſons for the repeal of the ſacramental teſt.

In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or juſtice of the peace, *merely on a point of conſcience, is a negative diſcouragement*, and conſequently a real perſecution: for in this caſe, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin puts a very pertinent and powerful queſtion: "If God be the ſole "Lord of the conſcience, why ſhould the rights of con- "ſcience be ſubject to human juriſdiction? *Now to* "*apply this to the Catholics; the belief of tranſubſtantiation* "is a matter purely of religion and conſcience, which "doth not affect the political intereſt of ſociety, as ſuch: "therefore, why ſhould the rights of conſcience, where- "of God is the ſole Lord, be ſubject to human juriſdicti- "on"? And why ſhould God be deprived of this right over a Catholic's conſcience, any more than over that of any other Diſſenter?

AND whereas another author among our brethren the Diſſenters hath very juſtly complained, that by this perſecuting teſt act great numbers of true Proteſtants have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations rather than ſtay here branded with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the Catholics can bring many more inſtances of the ſame kind; ſome thouſands of their religion having been forced by the ſacramental teſt to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing ſwords, ſitting in parliament, and getting that ſhare of power and profit which belong to them as fellow chriſtians, whereof they are deprived "merely upon account of conſcience, "which would not allow them to take the ſacrament after "the manner preſcribed in the liturgy." Hence it clearly follows in the words of the ſame † author, That "if we "Catholics are uncapable of employments, we are puniſh- "ed for our diſſent, that is, for our conſcience, which "wholly turns upon political conſiderations."

THE Catholics are willing to acknowledge the King's ſupremacy, whenever their brethren the Diſſenters ſhall pleaſe to ſhew them an example.

FURTHER, the Catholics, whenever their religion ſhall come

* Idem.

† See Reaſons againſt the teſt.

come to be the national eſtabliſhed faith, are willing to undergo the ſame teſt offered by the author already quoted. His words are theſe: "To end this debate, by putting it "upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impar-"tial perſon a fair and equitable one: we Catholics pro-"poſe, with ſubmiſſion to the proper judges, that effectu-"al ſecurity be taken againſt perſecution by obliging all, "who are admitted into places of power and truſt, what-"ever their religious profeſſion be, in the moſt ſolemn "manner to diſclaim perſecuting principles." It is hoped the public will take notice of theſe words; *whatever their religious profeſſion be*; which plainly include the Catholics; and for which we return thanks to our diſſenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, that if the ſchiſmatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of poſſeſſing civil and military employments, they would never be at eaſe, till they had raiſed their own way of worſhip into the national religion through all his Majeſty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottiſh kirk*; which when they had once brought to paſs, they would no more allow liberty of conſcience to Epiſcopal Diſſenters, than they did in the time of the great Engliſh rebellion, and in the ſucceeding fanatic anarchy, till the King was reſtored. There is another very learned ſchiſmatical * pamphleteer, who in anſwer to a malignant libel called, *The Preſbyterian plea of merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this aſperſion by aſſuring all Epiſcopal Proteſtants of the preſent church upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the Diſſenters will never offer at ſuch an attempt. In like manner the Catholics, when legally required, will openly declare upon their words and honours, that as ſoon as their negative diſcouragements and their perſecution ſhall be removed by repealing the ſacramental teſt, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cauſe, whether the kingdom ſhall think fit to make their faith the eſtabliſhed religion or not.

And again, whereas our Preſbyterian brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion,

* Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

bellion in England, the murder of the King, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected againſt them both in and out of ſeaſon, by our common enemy the preſent Conformiſts; we do declare in the defence of our ſaid brethren, that the reproach aforeſaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare cant*, which they always diſdained to anſwer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain Conformiſt, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on ſo beaten a ſubject; he was pleaſed to divert the diſcourſe with a fooliſh ſtory, which I cannot forbear telling to his diſgrace. He ſaid, there was a clergyman in Yorkſhire, who for fifteen years together preached every Sunday againſt drunkenneſs: whereat the pariſhioners being much offended, complained to the Archbiſhop; who having ſent for the clergyman, and ſeverely reprimanded him, the miniſter had no better an anſwer, than by confeſſing the fact; adding, that all the pariſh were drunkards; that he deſired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and ſince they ſtill continued to be as great drunkards as before, he reſolved to go on, except his Grace would pleaſe to forbid him.

We are very ſenſible how heavy an accuſation lieth upon the Catholics of Ireland; that ſome years before King Charles II. was reſtored, when theirs and the King's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the rump to be ſettled; after all his Majeſty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the ſaid Catholics who remained here in an enſlaved condition, joined to ſend an invitation to the Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole iſland to his power, and declare him their ſovereign; which after the reſtoration was proved againſt them by Dean Boyle, ſince Primate, who produced the very original inſtrument at the board. The Catholics freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the ſame time appeal to all the world, whether a wiſer, a better, a more honourable, or a more juſtifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to ſlavery and beggary by the Engliſh rebels, many thouſands of them murdered, the reſt deprived of their eſtates, and driven to live on a ſmall pittance in the wilds

wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the rump or Cromwell abſolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the queſtion will turn upon this, whether the Catholics, deprived of all their poſſeſſions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter deſpair of ever ſeeing the monarchy reſtored, for the preſervation of which they had ſuffered ſo much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a conſiderable army to ſupport them, rather than ſubmit to ſo infamous an uſurper as Cromwell, or ſuch a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the *rump*. And I have often heard not only our friends the Diſſenters, but even our common enemy the Conformiſts, who are converſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times freely confeſs, that conſidering the miſerable ſituation the Iriſh were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been inſtruments of reſtoring the lawful monarch, at leaſt to the recovery of England and Scotland from thoſe betrayers and ſellers and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the laſt quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great miſtake; for the firſt original BRAND hath been long taken off: only we confeſs the ſcar will probably remain, and be viſible for ever to thoſe who know the principles by which they acted, and until thoſe principles ſhall be openly renounced; elſe it muſt continue to all generations, like the mark ſet upon Cain, which ſome authors ſay deſcended to all his poſterity; or like the Roman noſe and Auſtrian lip, or like the long bag of fleſh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any brands fixed on ſchiſmatics for ſeveral years paſt, they have been all made with cold iron; like thieves who by the BENEFIT OF THE CLERGY are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but eſcape the pain and the mark by being in fee with the JAYLOR. Which advantage the ſchiſmatical teachers will never want, who, as we are aſſured, and of which there is a very freſh inſtance, have the ſouls and bodies and purſes of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the Catholic prieſts could ever pretend to.

THEREFORE

THEREFORE, upon the whole, the Catholics do humby petition (*without the leaſt inſinuation of threatning*) that upon this favourable conjuncture their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very ſame reaſons (beſides others more cogent) that are now offered by their brethren the Diſſenters.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controverſy the author was again victorious, for the teſt was not repealed. *Hawkeſ.*

Some REASONS againſt the BILL for ſettling the tythe of *Hemp, Flax, &c.* by a *Modus**.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cauſe of complaint againſt the preſent houſe of Commons; who in the laſt ſeſſions were pleaſed to throw out a bill † ſent them from the Lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it paſſed into a law: and who in the preſent ſeſſions defeated the arts and endeavours of ſchiſmatics to repeal the ſacramental teſt.

FOR altho' it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of thoſe bills might by its neceſſary conſequences be very diſpleaſing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reaſons purely ſecular; and that this laſt attempt for repealing the teſt did much more affect at preſent the temporal intereſt, than the ſpiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both thoſe occaſions, expreſſed equal gratitude to that honourable houſe for their juſtice and ſteadineſs, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

IT muſt needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that ſuch an aſſemby as the preſent houſe of Commons ſhould now, with an expedition more than uſual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture

* Many eminent clergymen who oppoſed this ſcheme applied to Dr Swift to write againſt it, which he readily conſented to upon their giving him ſome hints; and two days after the following reaſons were preſented to ſeveral members of parliament, which had ſo good an effect that the bill was dropped. *Hawkeſ.*

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid obſerving in it, a greater fund of calmneſs, not a leſs degree of ſpirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Orrery.*

† For the biſhops to divide livings. *Hawkeſ.*

facture with a clauſe, whereby the church is to loſe two parts in three of the legal tythe in flax and hemp.

SOME reaſons why the clergy think ſuch a law will be a great hardſhip upon them are, I conceive, thoſe that follow. I ſhall venture to enumerate them with all deference due to that honourable aſſembly.

FIRST, the clergy ſuppoſe that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation's repreſentatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the preſent ſet, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt vicar, be in the leaſt diſputed: becauſe there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years paſt, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the ſame merit.

THERE is not a landlord in the whole kingdom reſiding ſome part of the year at his country ſeat, who is not in his own conſcience fully convinced, that the tythes of his miniſter have gradually ſunk for ſome years paſt one third, or at leaſt one fourth of their former value, excluſive of all non-ſolvencies.

THE payment of tythes in this kingdom is ſubject to ſo many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from Papiſts and Diſſenters, but even from thoſe who profeſs themſelves Proteſtants; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the moſt precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

THE landlords in moſt pariſhes expect, as a compliment, that they ſhall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often conſiſt of large domains: and it is the miniſter's intereſt to make them eaſy upon that article, when he conſiders what influence thoſe gentlemen have upon their tenants.

THE clergy cannot but think it extremely ſevere, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone muſt be the ſufferers, who can leaſt afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thouſand pounds a year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the ſaid manufacture, are not the clergy equal ſharers in the

charge with the reſt of their fellow ſubjects? What ſatisfactory reaſon can be therefore given, why they alone ſhould bear the whole additional weight, unleſs it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men. They acquire their own ſmall pittance by at leaſt as honeſt means as their neighbours the landlords poſſeſs their eſtates; and have been always ſuppoſed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title: for no families now in being can ſhew a more antient. Indeed if it be true, that ſome perſons (I hope they were not many) were ſeen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this caſe an opinion may poſſibly be ſoon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion ſhall increaſe, which is already in a very forward way.

It is ſaid, there will be alſo added in this bill a clauſe for diminiſhing the tythe of hops, in order to cultivate that uſeful plant among us: and here likewiſe the load is to lie entirely on the ſhoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be eaſy to foreſee where ſuch proceedings are like to ſtop: or whether by the ſame authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as juſtly challenge the ſame power in reducing all things tytheable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a ſixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by ſkilful perſons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament without their own conſent is a new thing, not much above the date of ſeventy years: before which period, in times of peace they always taxed themſelves. But things are extremely altered at preſent: it is not now ſufficient to tax them in common with their fellow ſubjects, without impoſing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow ſubjects are exempt; and this in a country profeſſing chriſtianity.

The greateſt part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been ſtripped of their glebes by the confuſion of times, by violence, fraud, oppreſſion, and other unlawful

ful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a ſmall piece of ground in their pariſhes, at a moſt exorbitant rent, and uſually for a ſhort term of years, whereon to build a houſe, and enable them to reſide. Yet, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages I am a witneſs, that they are generally more conſtant reſidents than their brethren in England; where the meaneſt vicar hath a convenient dwelling with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; beſides the certainty of his little income from honeſt farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewiſe to make him preſents according to their ability for his better ſupport. In all which circumſtances the clergy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable houſe will conſider, that it is impoſſible for the moſt ill-minded, avaritious, or cunning clergyman to do the leaſt injuſtice to the meaneſt cottager in his pariſh in any bargain for tythes, or other eccleſiaſtical dues. He can at the utmoſt only demand to have his tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the pooreſt cottager to the moſt ſubſtantial farmer, can, and generally doth, impoſe upon the miniſter, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by inſolence, and ſometimes by force; notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance and ſkill of himſelf and his proctor. Inſomuch, that it is allowed that the clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two hundred thouſand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding thoſe of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they ſhould each of them poſſeſs two hundred pounds a year, if thoſe tythes were equally divided, altho' in well cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that ſum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty conſiderable, but if theſe and all the reſt were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five

pounds a year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be juſtly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility, nor gentry, nor tradeſmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I ſay, is ſubmitted to the honourable houſe.

One terrible circumſtance in this bill is, that of turning the tythe of flax and hemp into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain ſum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many pariſhes by antient cuſtom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almoſt incredible ſufferers. Thus in the preſent caſe the tythe of a tolerable acre of flax, which by a medium is worth twelve ſhillings, is by the preſent bill reduced to four ſhillings. Neither is this the worſt part in a *modus*; every determinate ſum muſt in proceſs of time ſink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that neceſſary fall attending the value of money, which is now at leaſt nine tenths lower all over Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at leaſt within our own memories in purchaſing almoſt every thing required for the neceſſities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can atteſt, who hath kept houſe for twenty years paſt. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, altho' I look upon it as an impoſſibility that this kingdom ſhould ever thrive under its preſent diſadvantages, which without a miracle muſt ſtill increaſe; yet when the whole caſh of the nation ſhall ſink to fifty thouſand pounds, we muſt in all our traffic abroad either of import or export go by the general rate, at which money is valued in thoſe countries that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reaſon no corporation (if the clergy may preſume to call themſelves one) ſhould by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity upon any conſideration whatſoever; which is a rock that many corporations have ſplit upon to their great impoveriſhment, and ſometimes to their utter undoing; becauſe they are ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt for ever, and becauſe no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinſic value. This is known enough in England, where eſtates let for ever, ſome hundred years ago,

go, by ſeveral antient noble families, do not at this preſent pay their poſterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an eaſy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full ſhare in all parliamentary impoſitions, cannot poſſibly be juſt, except it be inflicted as a puniſhment upon that body of men, which is taxed, for ſome great demerit or danger to the public apprehended from thoſe upon whom it is laid: thus the Papiſts and Non-jurors have been doubly taxed for refuſing to give proper ſecurities to the government; which cannot be objected againſt the clergy. And therefore if this bill ſhould paſs, I think it ought to be with a preface, ſhewing wherein they have offended, and for what diſaffection or other crime they are puniſhed.

If an additional exciſe upon ale, or a duty upon fleſh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker would bear any more of the charge than for what themſelves conſumed, but it would be an equal general tax thro' the whole kingdom: whereas by this bill the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their antient, inherent, undiſputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture by which all the reſt of the kingdom are ſuppoſed to be gainers.

This bill is directly againſt *magna charta*, whereof the firſt clauſe is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our Kings at their coronation, where they ſwear to defend and protect the church in all rights.

A tax laid upon employments is a very different thing. The poſſeſſors of civil and military employments are no corporation; neither are they any part of our conſtitution; their ſalaries, pay and perquiſites are all changeable at the pleaſure of the prince who beſtows them, altho' the army be paid from funds raiſed and appropriated by the legiſlature. But the clergy, as they have little reaſon to expect, ſo they deſire no more than their antient legal dues; only indeed with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which it is to be feared they muſt wait for until more favourable times. It is well known that they have already, of their own accord, ſhewn great indulgence to their people upon this very

very article of flax, ſeldom taking above a fourth part of their tythe for ſmall parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners; waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of huſbandry; never ſuſpecting that their good intentions ſhould be perverted in ſo ſingular a manner to their detriment by that very aſſembly, which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our conſtitution, ever ſince chriſtianity became national among us) are thought fit to be ſuſpended, God knows for what reaſon, or from what provocations; I ſay, from that very aſſembly, who during the intervals of convocations ſhould rather be ſuppoſed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the leaſt attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon inquiry, that any of thoſe gentlemen, who among us without doors are called the *court-party*, diſcover the leaſt zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpoſe, it might be conceived they would ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt this bill, which muſt very much leſſen the value of the King's patronage upon promotion to vacant ſees, in the diſpoſal of deanries, and other conſiderable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to beſtow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a ſufficient ſtock of that ſort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times moſt prevail.

THE Diſſenters, by not ſucceeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the teſt, have loſt nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy without giving the leaſt offence are by this bill deprived of a conſiderable branch of their antient legal rights, whereby the ſchiſmatical party will have the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge——*hoc Graii voluere.*

THE farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, becauſe when his preſent leaſe ſhall expire, his landlord will infallibly raiſe the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is ſown, and have ſo much a better ſecurity for payment at the expence of the clergy.

IF we judge by things paſt, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years.

years. For no landlord will ever conſent that a law ſhall expire, by which he finds himſelf a gainer; and of this there are many examples as well in England as in this kingdom.

THE great end of this bill is by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into thoſe countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *leſſening the tythe of flax and hemp* is one of ſuch a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Becauſe, if I am rightly informed, no ſet of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more induſtrious and ſucceſsful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by perſuading their people to ſow flax and hemp, by procuring ſeed for them, and by having them inſtructed in the management thereof; and this they did not without reaſonable hopes of increaſing the value of their pariſhes after ſome time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the public. But if this *modus* ſhould take place, the clergy will be ſo far from gaining, that they will become loſers by their extraordinary care, by having their beſt arable lands turned to flax and hemp, which are reckoned great impoveriſhers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they ſhould ſhew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their pariſhes as they hitherto have ſhewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, ſome of them have already declared, at leaſt ſo far as to reſolve not to give themſelves any more trouble than other men about promoting a manufacture, by the ſucceſs of which they only of all men are to be ſufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law doth, as it now ſtands, to a ſet of men who might on many accounts be ſo uſeful to this purpoſe, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually anſwered: but this is what they are far from deſiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the ſame footing with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects.

IF this *modus* of paying by the acre be to paſs into a law, it were to be wiſhed, that the ſame law would not only appoint one or more ſworn ſurveyors in each pariſh, to meaſure the lands on which flax and hemp are ſown,

but

but alſo ſettle the price of ſurveying, and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual ſurvey. Without ſomething of this kind there muſt conſtantly be diſputes between them, and the neighbouring juſtices of peace muſt be teized as often as thoſe diſputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was ſent to me with ſeveral reaſons againſt the bill, ſome whereof, altho' they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the reſt did not occur to me. I ſhall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tythes are the patrimony of the church; and if not of divine original, yet at leaſt of great antiquity.

II. That all purchaſes and leaſes of tythable lands, for many centuries paſt, have been made and taken, ſubject to the demand of tythes, and thoſe lands ſold and taken juſt ſo much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tythes, or the legal demands of ſuch tythes leſſened by act of parliament, ſo much value is taken from the proprietor of the tythes, and veſted in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. THAT no innocent unoffending perſon can be ſo deprived of his property without the greateſt violation of common juſtice.

V. That to do this upon a proſpect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very miſtaken and unjuſt ſuppoſition; inaſmuch as the price of the lands ſo occupied will be no way leſſened to the farmer by ſuch a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow ſubjects, either for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation, but think it very hard that they ſhould be ſingled out to pay heavier taxes than others at a time, when by the decreaſe of the value of their pariſhes they are leſs able to bear them.

VII. That the legiſlature hath heretofore diſtinguiſhed the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads, and the preſent clergy of the kingdom hope they have not

not deſerved worſe of the legiſlature than their predeceſſors.

VIII. That by the original conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, the clergy had the ſole right of taxing themſelves, and were in poſſeſſion of that right as low as the reſtoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the Commons by the ceſſion of the clergy, the Commons can be conſidered in this caſe in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That beſides thoſe tythes always in the poſſeſſion of the clergy, there are ſome portions of tythes lately come into their poſſeſſion by purchaſe; that if this clauſe ſhould take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of theſe purchaſers upon an equal foot of advantage with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects. And that ſome tythes in the hands of impropriators are under ſettlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this houſe ſhould conſider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Laſtly, That if it were at any time juſt and proper to do this, it would however be too ſevere to do it now, when all the tythes of the kingdom are known for ſome years paſt to have ſunk above one third part in their value.

ANY income in the hands of the clergy is at leaſt as uſeful to the public as the ſame income in the hands of the laity.

IT were more reaſonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional ſupport, than to diminiſh their preſent ſubſiſtence.

GREAT employments are and will be in the hands of Engliſhmen; nothing left for the younger ſons of Iriſhmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, &c. therefore no reaſon to make them worſe.

THE *modus* upon the flax in England affects only lands reclaimed ſince the year 1690, and is at the rate of five ſhillings the Engliſh acre, which is equivalent to eight ſhillings and eight pence Iriſh, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture

facture of little conſequence in England, but is the ſtaple in Ireland, and if it increaſes (as it probably will) muſt in many places joſtle out corn, becauſe it is more gainful.

THE clergy of the eſtabliſhed church have no intereſt like thoſe of the church of Rome, diſtinct from the true intereſt of their country, and therefore ought to ſuffer under no diſtinct impoſitions or taxes of any kind.

THE bill for ſettling the *modus* of *flax* in England was brought in the firſt year of the reign of King George I. when the clergy lay very unjuſtly under the imputation of ſome diſaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of ſome fens in Lincolnſhire which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been ſown before that time under the ſame condition of tything, in which they were before the paſſing of that bill; whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually poſſeſſed of.

THAT the woollen manufacture is the ſtaple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tythe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with leſs than half, ſome with ſixpence a garden, and ſome have taken nothing.

EMPLOYMENTS, they ſay, have been taxed; the reaſons for which taxation will not hold with regard to property, at leaſt till employments become inheritances. The Commons always have had ſo tender a regard to property, that they never would ſuffer any law to paſs, whereby any particular perſons might be aggrieved without their own conſent.

N. B. "Some alterations have been made in the bill "about the *modus*, ſince the above paper was "written; but they are of little moment."

A modeſt PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a burden to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public.

IT is a melancholy object to thoſe, who walk thro' this great town, or travel in the country, when they ſee the ſtreets, the roads and cabin-doors crowded with beggars of the female ſex, followed by three, four, or ſix children, all in rags, and importuning every paſſenger for an alms. Theſe mothers, inſtead of being able to work for their honeſt livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in ſtrolling to beg ſuſtenance for their helpleſs infants, who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or ſell themſelves to the Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is in the preſent deplorable ſtate of the kingdom a very great additional grievance; and therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap and eaſy method of making theſe children ſound and uſeful members of the commonwealth, would deſerve ſo well of the public, as to have his ſtatue ſet up for a preſerver of the nation.

BUT my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of profeſſed beggars: it is of a much greater extent, and ſhall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to ſupport them, as thoſe who demand our charity in the ſtreets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important ſubject, and maturely weighed the ſeveral ſchemes of our projectors, I have always found them groſsly miſtaken in their computation.

It is true, a child juſt dropt from its dam may be ſupported by her milk for a ſolar year, with little other nouriſhment: at moſt not above the value of two ſhillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in ſcraps, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propoſe to provide for them in ſuch a manner, as inſtead of being a charge upon their parents, or the pariſh, or wanting food and raiment for the reſt of their lives, they ſhall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thouſands.

THERE is likewiſe another great advantage in my ſcheme, that it will prevent thoſe voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their baſtard children, alas! too frequent among us, ſacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt more to avoid the expence than the ſhame, which would move tears and pity in the moſt ſavage and inhuman breaſt.

THE number of ſouls in this kingdom being uſually reckoned one million and a half, of theſe I calculate there may be about two hundred thouſand couple, whoſe wives are breeders; from which number I ſubtract thirty thouſand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (altho' I apprehend there cannot be ſo many under the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom) but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and ſeventy thouſand breeders. I again ſubtract fifty thouſand for thoſe women, who miſcarry, or whoſe children die by accident or diſeaſe within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thouſand children of poor parents annually born. The queſtion therefore is, How this number ſhall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already ſaid, under the preſent ſituation of affairs is utterly impoſſible by all the methods hitherto propoſed. For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houſes, (I mean in the country) nor cultivate land: they can very ſeldom pick up a livelihood by ſtealing, till they arrive at ſix years old, except where they are of towardly parts; altho' I confeſs they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as probationers; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the

county of Cavan, who proteſted to me, that he never knew above one or two inſtances under the age of ſix, even in a part of the kingdom ſo renowned for the quickeſt proficiency in that art.

I am aſſured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no ſaleable commodity; and even when they come to this age they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at moſt, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at leaſt four times that value.

I ſhall now therefore humbly propoſe my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the leaſt objection.

I have been aſſured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nurſed, is at a year old a moſt delicious nouriſhing and wholeſome food, whether ſtewed, roaſted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally ſerve in a fricaſſe, or a ragouſt.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public conſideration, that of the hundred and twenty thouſand children already computed, twenty thouſand may be reſerved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to ſheep, black cattle, or ſwine; and my reaſon is, that theſe children are ſeldom the fruits of marriage, a circumſtance not much regarded by our ſavages, therefore, one male will be ſufficient to ſerve four females. That the remaining hundred thouſand may, at a year old, be offered in ſale to the perſons of quality and fortune through the kingdom; always adviſing the mother to let them ſuck plentifully in the laſt month, ſo as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two diſhes at an entertainment for friends: and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reaſonable diſh, and ſeaſoned with a little pepper or ſalt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day; eſpecially in winter.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child juſt born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a ſolar year, if tolerably nurſed, will increaſe to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be ſomewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already de-

voured moſt of the parents, ſeem to have the beſt title to the children.

INFANT's fleſh will be in ſeaſon throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author *, an eminent French phyſician, that fiſh being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other ſeaſon; therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than uſual, becauſe the number of Popiſh infants is at leaſt three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage by leſſening the number of Papiſts among us.

I have already computed the charge of nurſing a beggar's child (in which liſt I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers) to be about two ſhillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten ſhillings for the carcaſs of a good fat child, which, as I have ſaid, will make four diſhes of excellent nutritive meat, when he hath only ſome particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the ſquire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have eight ſhillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till ſhe produces another child.

THOSE, who are more thrifty (as I muſt confeſs the times require) may flay the carcaſs; the ſkin of which, artificially dreſſed, will make admirable gloves for ladies and ſummer boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, ſhambles may be appointed for this purpoſe in the moſt convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be aſſured will not be wanting; altho' I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dreſſing them hot from the knife, as we do roaſting pigs.

A very worthy perſon, a true lover of his country, and whoſe virtues I highly eſteem, was lately pleaſed, in diſcourſing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my ſcheme. He ſaid, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late deſtroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of veniſon might be well ſupplied by the bodies of young,

* Rabelais.

young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; ſo great a number of both ſexes in every county being now ready to ſtarve for want of work and ſervice: and theſe to be diſpoſed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwiſe by their neareſt relations. But, with due deference to ſo excellent a friend, and ſo deſerving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his ſentiments; for, as to the males, my American acquaintance aſſured me, from frequent experience, that their fleſh was generally tough and lean, like that of our ſchool-boys, by continual exerciſe, and their taſte diſagreeable; and to fatten them would not anſwer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble ſubmiſſion, be a loſs to the public, becauſe they ſoon would become breeders themſelves: and beſides, it is not improbable that ſome ſcrupulous people might be apt to cenſure ſuch a practice, (altho' indeed very unjuſtly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confeſs, hath always been with me the ſtrongeſt objection againſt any project, how well ſoever intended.

But in order to juſtify my friend, he confeſſed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the iſland Formoſa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in converſation, told my friend, that in his country, when any young perſon happened to be put to death, the executioner ſold the carcaſes to perſons of quality as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poiſon the Emperor, was ſold to his Imperial Majeſty's Prime Miniſter of State, and other great Mandarins of the court, in joints from the gibbet, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the ſame uſe were made of ſeveral plump young girls in this town, who, without one ſingle groat to their fortunes, cannot ſtir abroad without a chair, and appear at a play-houſe and aſſemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worſe.

Some perſons of a deſponding ſpirit are in great concern about that vaſt number of poor people, who are aged, diſeaſed, or maimed; and I have been deſired to employ

my thoughts what courſe may be taken to eaſe the nation of ſo grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the leaſt pain upon that matter, becauſe it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as faſt as can be reaſonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almoſt as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and conſequently pine away for want of nouriſhment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not ſtrength to perform it; and thus the country and themſelves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digreſſed, and therefore ſhall return to my ſubject. I think the advantages by the propoſal, which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the higheſt importance.

For, *firſt*, as I have already obſerved, it would greatly leſſen the nmber of Papiſts, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our moſt dangerous enemies, and who ſtay at home on purpoſe to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the abſence of ſo many good Proteſtants, who have choſen rather to leave their country, than ſtay at home and pay tythes againſt their conſcience to an *epiſcopal curate*.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have ſomething valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a diſtreſs, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already ſeized, *and money a thing unknown*.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thouſand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at leſs than ten ſhillings a piece *per annum*, the nation's ſtock will be thereby increaſed fifty thouſand pounds *per annum*, beſides the profit of a new diſh introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taſte. And the money will circulate among ourſelves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The conſtant breeders, beſides the gain of eight ſhillings ſterling *per annum* by the ſale of their children,

dren, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the firſt year.

Fifthly, This food would likewiſe bring great cuſtom to taverns; where the vintners will certainly be ſo prudent as to procure the beſt receipts for dreſſing it to perfection, and conſequently have their houſes frequented by all the fine gentlemen, who juſtly value themſelves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a ſkilful cook, who underſtands how to oblige his gueſts, will contrive to make it as expenſive as they pleaſe.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wiſe nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws, and penalties. It would encreaſe the care and tenderneſs of mothers towards their children, when they were ſure of a ſettlement for life to the poor babes, provided in ſome ſort by the public, to their annual profit inſtead of expence. We ſhould ſoon ſee an honeſt emulation among the married women, "which of them could bring the fatteſt child to the mar-"ket." Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, or ſows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miſcarriage.

MANY other advantages might be enumerated. For inſtance, the addition of ſome thouſand carcaſes in our exportation of barrelled beef: the propagation of ſwine's fleſh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon; ſo much wanted among us by the great deſtruction of pigs, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable in taſte or magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which roaſted whole will make a conſiderable figure at a *Lord Mayor's feaſt*, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being ſtudious of brevity.

SUPPOSING that one thouſand families in this city would be conſtant cuſtomers for infant's fleſh, beſides others who might have it at merry-meetings, particularly at weddings and chriſtenings, I compute, that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thouſand carcaſes; and the reſt of the kingdom (where probably they will be ſold ſomewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thouſand.

I can think of no one objection that will poſſibly be raiſed againſt this propoſal, unleſs it ſhould be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much leſſened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal deſign in offering it to the world. I deſire the reader will obſerve, that I calculate my remedy "for "this one individual kingdom of IRELAND, and for no "other, that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon "earth." Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: "of taxing our abſentees at five ſhillings a "pound: of uſing neither cloaths, nor houſhold furni-"ture, except what is of our own growth and manu-"facture: of utterly rejecting the materials and inſtru-"ments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the ex-"penſiveneſs of pride, vanity, idleneſs, and gaming in "our women: of introducing a vein of parſimony, pru-"dence, and temperance: of learning to love our coun-"try, in the want of which we differ even from LAPLAN-"DERS and the inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO: of quitting "our animoſities and factions, nor acting any longer like "the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very "moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious "not to ſell our country and conſciences for nothing: of "teaching landlords to have at leaſt one degree of mercy "towards their tenants: laſtly, of putting a ſpirit of ho-"neſty, induſtry, and ſkill into our ſhop-keepers, who, "if a reſolution could now be taken to buy only our na-"tive goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact "upon us in the price, the meaſure, and the goodneſs, "nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair propoſal "of juſt dealing, tho' often and earneſtly invited to it."

THEREFORE I repeat, let no man talk to me of theſe and the like expedients *, till he hath at leaſt ſome glympſe of hope, that there will ever be ſome hearty and ſincere attempt to put them in practice.

BUT

* Theſe expedients had been propoſed before, ſome of them by the Dean, and to urge the practice of them *by ſhewing the only alternative*, ſeems to have been the deſign of this paper.

Hawkeſ.

But, as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, viſionary thoughts, and at length utterly deſpairing of ſucceſs, I fortunately fell upon this propoſal; which as it is wholly new, ſo it hath ſomething ſolid and real, of no expence and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in diſobliging England. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the fleſh being of too tender a conſiſtence to admit a long continuance in ſalt, "altho' perhaps I could name a country, which "would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it."

After all, I am not ſo violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer propoſed by wiſe men, which ſhall be found equally innocent, cheap, eaſy, and effectual. But before ſomething of that kind ſhall be advanced in contradiction to my ſcheme, and offering a better, I deſire the author or authors will be pleaſed maturely to conſider two points. *Firſt*, As things now ſtand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thouſand uſeleſs mouths and backs. And *ſecondly*, There being a round million of creatures in human figure thro'out this kingdom, whoſe whole ſubſiſtence put into a common ſtock would leave them in debt two millions of pounds ſterling, adding thoſe, who are beggars by profeſſion, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I deſire thoſe politicians who diſlike my overture, and may perhaps be ſo bold to attempt an anſwer, that they will firſt aſk the parents of theſe mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happineſs to have been ſold for food at a year old, in the manner I preſcribe, and thereby have avoided ſuch a perpetual ſcene of misfortunes, as they have ſince gone thro' by the oppreſſion of landlords, the impoſſibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common ſuſtenance, with neither houſe nor cloaths to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the moſt inevitable proſpect of entailing the like, or greater miſeries, upon their breed for ever.

I profeſs in the ſincerity of my heart, that I have not the

the leaſt perſonal intereſt in endeavouring to promote this neceſſary work, having no other motive than the "public good of my country, by advancing our trade, "providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving "ſome pleaſure to the rich." I have no children, by which I can propoſe to get a ſingle penny: the youngeſt being nine years old, and my wife paſt child-bearing.

To

To the Honourable Houſe of Commons, &c.

The humble PETITION of the FOOTMEN in and about the city of Dublin.

[Written in the year 1732.]

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your petitioners are a great and numerous ſociety, endowed with ſeveral privileges time out of mind.

THAT certain lewd, idle, and diſorderly perſons for ſeveral months paſt, as it is notoriouſly known, have been daily ſeen in the public walks of this city, habited ſometimes in green coats, and ſometimes laced, with long oaken cudgels in their hands, and without ſwords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent thoſe walks; pretending and giving themſelves out to be true genuine Iriſh Footmen; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toaſtees*, as a judicious eye may ſoon diſcover by their awkward, clumſey, ungenteel gait and behaviour; by their unſkilfulneſs in dreſs even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of impudence and dulneſs peculiar to the reſt of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that tranſcendent pitch of aſſurance; altho' it may be juſtly apprehended, that they will do ſo in time, if theſe counterfeits ſhall happen to ſucceed in their evil deſign of paſſing for real footmen, thereby to render themſelves more amiable to the ladies.

YOUR petitioners do farther alledge, that many of the ſaid counterfeits, upon a ſtrict examination, have been found in the act of ſtrutting, ſtaring, ſwearing, ſwaggering, in a manner that plainly ſhewed their beſt endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, altho' they did not ſucceed

ſucceed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmoſt indignity was endeavoured to be caſt upon our whole profeſſion.

YOUR petitioners do therefore make it their humble requeſt, that this honourable houſe (to many of whom your petitioners are nearly allied) will pleaſe to take this grievance into your moſt ſerious conſideration: humbly ſubmitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain officers might at the public charge be employed to ſearch for, and diſcover all ſuch counterfeit footmen; to carry them before the next juſtice of peace, by whoſe warrant, upon the firſt conviction, they ſhould be ſtripped of their coats and oaken ornaments, and be ſet two hours in the ſtocks; upon the ſecond conviction, beſides ſtripping, be ſet ſix hours in the ſtocks, with a paper pinned on their breaſts, ſignifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words: *A. B. commonly called A. B. Eſq; a toupee, and a notorious impoſter, who preſumed to perſonate a true Iriſh footman.*

AND for any other offence, the ſaid toupee ſhall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be ſet at liberty till he ſhall have given ſufficient ſecurity for his good behaviour.

YOUR Honours will pleaſe to obſerve, with what lenity we propoſe to treat theſe enormous offenders, who have already brought ſuch a ſcandal on our honourable calling, that ſeveral well-meaning people have miſtaken them to be of our fraternity, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have ſupported our ſtation, as we always did, in the worſt of times. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifeſtly done with a ſeditious deſign to render us leſs capable of ſerving the public in any great employments, as ſeveral of our fraternity, as well as our anceſtors, have done.

WE do therefore humbly implore your Honours to give neceſſary orders for our relief in this preſent exigency, and your petitioners (as in duty bound), ſhall ever pray, &c.

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL for giving badges to the BEGGARS in all the parishes of Dublin.

By the Dean of St Patrick's.

[Written in the year 1737.]

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two Deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city: and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions upon the score of party, in which my predecessors time out of mind have always been members.

THE first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving the old commission, and establishing a new one of near three times the number, have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of a benefit to the city. In the present commission all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of 'squires, not only those who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

AT the few general meetings that I have attended since the new establishment, I observed very little was done except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared: and I have found the court of assistance usually taken up in little

wrangles about coachmen, or adjuſting accounts of meal and ſmall beer; which, however neceſſary, might ſometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment. I mean ſome ſchemes recommended to the general board for anſwering the chief ends in erecting and eſtabliſhing ſuch a poor-houſe, and endowing it with ſo conſiderable a revenue: and the principal end I take to have been that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the pariſhes are not able to do it; and clearing the ſtreets from all ſtrollers, foreigners, and ſturdy beggars, with which, to the univerſal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infeſted ſince the eſtabliſhment of the poor-houſe, than it was ever known to be ſince its firſt erection.

As the whole fund for ſupporting this hoſpital is raiſed only from the inhabitants of the city; ſo there can be hardly any thing more abſurd than to ſee it miſemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and baſtards, or orphans, of farmers, whoſe country landlords never contributed one ſhilling towards their ſupport. I would engage, that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honeſty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a ſmall number of original poor in every pariſh, who might, without being burthenſome to the pariſhioners, find a tolerable ſupport.

I have for ſome years paſt applied myſelf to ſeveral Lord Mayors, and the late Archbiſhop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain propoſal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every pariſh, who begged in the ſtreets; that the ſaid beggars ſhould be confined to their own pariſhes; that they ſhould wear their badges well ſown upon one of their ſhoulders, always viſible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal puniſhment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in ſome clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual diſquiet, which they do not ill deſerve; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of leſs conſequence; becauſe the remedy is in their own power: but, all ſtreet-

walkers

walkers and ſhop-keepers bear an equal ſhare in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection againſt this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their ſeveral pariſhes. The objection was this: what ſhall we do with the foreign beggars? muſt they be left to ſtarve? I anſwered, No; but they muſt be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country pariſh do as they pleaſe, or rather, after the practice in England, ſend them from one pariſh to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England ſtill in force, every pariſh is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no ſuch conſequence in this point as ſome would make it, whether a country pariſh be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer pariſhes of the kingdom, all neceſſaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean butter-milk, oat meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himſelf a beggar, can ſometimes ſpare a ſup or a morſel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own pariſh, who is diſabled from work. A beggar native of the pariſh is known to the 'ſquire, to the church-miniſter, to the popiſh prieſt, or the conventicle teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally ſome relations able to live, and contribute ſomething to his maintenance. None of which advantages can be reaſonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any) may get half their ſupport by doing ſome kind of work in their power, and thereby be leſs burdenſome to the people. In ſhort, all neceſſaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars ſhould put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But, when the ſpirit of wandring takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuiſance to the whole country: he and his female are thieves, and teach the trade of ſtealing to their brood at four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a ſingle perſon unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but

ſtill with a view to this town, whither he arrives at laſt; and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder, that the country 'ſquires ſhould be very willing to ſend up their colonies; but why the city ſhould be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thouſand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off, than in this town, or in any of its ſuburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion ſhares ſo deeply in the daily increaſing miſeries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which miſeries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual ſwarms of foreign beggars, who might be baniſhed in a month without expence, and with very little trouble.

As I am perſonally acquainted with a great number of ſtreet-beggars, I find ſome weak attempts have been made in one or two pariſhes to promote the wearing of badges; and my firſt queſtion to thoſe who aſk an alms is, *Where is your badge?* I have, in ſeveral years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, ſome out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their ſhoulders, only covered with a ſort of capes which they could lift up, or let down upon occaſion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to ſteal; nor aſhamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be ſeen with a badge, as many of them have confeſſed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon ſuch an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether ſuch wretches deſerve to be relieved. As to myſelf, I muſt confeſs, this abſurd inſolence hath ſo affected me, that for ſeveral years paſt I have not diſpoſed of one ſingle farthing to a ſtreet beggar, nor intend to do ſo until I ſee a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to perſuade all my brother walkers to follow my example, which moſt of them aſſure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deſerve charity. However, as to perſons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the perſecution we ſuffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

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To ſay the truth, there is not a more undeſerving vicious race of human-kind than the bulk of thoſe who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miſeries is originally owing to our own faults (but what thoſe faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention), ſo I am confident, that among the meaner people nineteen in twenty of thoſe who are reduced to a ſtarving condition, did not become ſo by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleneſs, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenneſs, thievery and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from thoſe who have aſked me an alms, what was their former courſe of life, will find them to have been ſervants in good families, broken tradeſmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed houſekeepers; but (to uſe their own cant) reduced by loſſes and croſſes, by which nothing can be underſtood but idleneſs and vice.

As this is the only chriſtian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; ſo the bleſſing of *increaſe* and *multiply* is by us converted into a curſe: and, as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, ſo we ſhould be leſs miſerable if it were diſcouraged in ours, as far as can be conſiſtent with chriſtianity. It is ſeldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the ſervant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath ſaved up a ſtock of money ſufficient to carry on his buſineſs; nor takes a wife without a ſuitable portion; and as ſeldom fails of making a yearly addition to that ſtock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the caſe is directly contrary, where many thouſand couples are yearly married, whoſe whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be ſufficient to purchaſe a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-ſupper, nor have any proſpect of ſupporting their honourable ſtate but by ſervice, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their happineſs is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to ſteal, a ſhilling to pay their Popiſh prieſt, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous

portion of wiſdom would be required to find ſome kind of remedy againſt this deſtructive evil, or, at leaſt, not to draw the conſequences of it upon our decaying city, the greateſt part whereof muſt of courſe in a few years become deſolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not abſolutely barbarous, parents think themſelves bound by the law of nature and reaſon to make ſome proviſion for their children; but the reaſon offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been for ſome time paſt extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it ſeems, they are grown ſo gracious as to tranſmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profeſs to mean real Engliſh beggars in the literal meaning of the word, as it is uſually underſtood by Proteſtants. It ſeems the juſtices of the peace and pariſh-officers in the weſtern coaſts of England have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their ſupernumerary beggars, in order to advance the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt among us; and theſe they are ſo kind to ſend over *gratis*, and duty-free. I have had the honour more than once to attend large cargoes of them from Cheſter to Dublin: and I was then ſo ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city ſhould receive them into Bridewel, and, after a month's reſidence, having been well whipt twice a day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they ſhould be returned honeſtly back with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I propoſed, that whereas one Engliſhman is allowed to be of equal intrinſic value with twelve born in Ireland, we ſhould in juſtice return them a dozen for one to diſpoſe of as they pleaſed.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their ſeveral pariſhes. For inſtance: a beggar of the pariſh of St Warborough's, or any other pariſh here, if he be an object of compaſſion, hath an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand: becauſe the inhabitants,

habitants, one or other, walk through every ſtreet in town, and give their alms, without conſidering the place, wherever they think it may be well diſpoſed of: and theſe helps, added to what they get in eatables by going from houſe to houſe among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthenſome, be ſufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the ſuburb pariſhes will not have altogether the ſame advantage, becauſe they are not equally in the road of buſineſs and paſſengers; but here it is to be conſidered, that the beggars there have not ſo good a title to public charity, becauſe moſt of them are ſtrollers from the country, and compoſe a principal part of that great nuiſance which we ought to remove.

I ſhould be apt to think, that few things can be more irkſome to a city miniſter, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his diſtrict, whom he hath no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of thoſe to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuſe to any miniſter of a city-pariſh, he uſually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he ſays, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as thoſe beadles often keep alehouſes, they find their account in ſuch cuſtomers. This evil might eaſily be remedied, if the pariſhes would make ſome ſmall addition to the ſalaries of a beadle, and be more careful in the choice of thoſe officers. But, I conceive there is one effectual method in the power of every miniſter to put in practice; I mean, by making it the intereſt of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for if the pariſh beggars were abſolutely forbidden by the miniſter and church officers to ſuffer ſtrollers to come into the pariſh, upon pain of themſelves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houſes and ſhops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiſcretion of our city ſhop-keepers, who ſuffer their doors to be daily beſieged by crouds of beggars (as the gates of a lord are by duns) to the great diſguſt and vexation of many cuſtomers, whom I have frequently obſerved to

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go to other ſhops, rather than ſuffer ſuch a perſecution; which might eaſily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infeſt them.

WHEREFORE I do aſſert, that the ſhop-keepers, who are the greateſt complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every cuſtomer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deſerve what they ſuffer, when a 'prentice with a horſe-whip is able to laſh every beggar from the ſhop, who is not of the pariſh, and doth not wear the badge of that pariſh on his ſhoulder, well faſtened, and fairly viſible; and if this practice were univerſal in every houſe to all the ſturdy vagrants, we ſhould in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants, except thoſe who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be ſufficient to give them nothing, and then they muſt ſtarve, or follow their brethren.

IT was the city that firſt endowed this hoſpital; and thoſe who afterwards contributed, as they were ſuch who generally inhabited here, ſo they intended what they gave to be for the uſe of the city's poor. The revenues, which have ſince been raiſed by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the leaſt charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original deſign, than to miſapply thoſe revenues on ſtrolling beggars or baſtards from the country, which bears no ſhare in the charges we are at.

IF ſome of the out-pariſhes be over burthened with poor, the reaſon muſt be, that the greateſt part of thoſe poor are ſtrollers from the country, who neſtle themſelves where they can find the cheapeſt lodgings, and from thence infeſt every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped as a moſt inſufferable nuiſance, being nothing elſe but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than ſuffered to levy a vaſt annual tax upon the city, which ſhares too deep in the public miſeries brought on us by the oppreſſions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our fellow-proteſtants, and fellow-ſubjects.

SOME time ago I was appointed one of a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the workhouſe; where we found that

that a charity was beſtowed by a great perſon for a certain time, which in its conſequences operated very much to the detriment of the houſe; for, when the time was elapſed, all thoſe who were ſupported by that charity continued on the ſame foot with the reſt on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the reſt; ſo partial, or treacherous, or intereſted, or ignorant, or miſtaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itſelf.

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city is charged upon the bellowers (as they are called) who find their accounts beſt in ſuffering thoſe vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuſe might eaſily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better ſalaries were given to thoſe who execute that office in the ſeveral pariſhes, and would make it their intereſt to clear the town of thoſe caterpillars, rather than hazard the loſs of an employment that would give them an honeſt livelihood. But, if that ſhould fail, yet a general reſolution of never giving charity to a ſtreet beggar out of his own pariſh, or without a viſible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

THERE is generally a vagabond ſpirit in beggars, which ought to be diſcouraged, and ſeverely puniſhed. It is owing to the ſame cauſes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and raſh marriages without the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family by honeſt endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is obſerved, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon himſelf to be relieved by receiving bread, or other food; and they have in this town been frequently ſeen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel: neither do they much regard cloaths, unleſs to ſell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work: they want only ale, brandy, and other ſtrong liquors, which cannot be had without money; and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had ſome other thoughts to offer upon this ſubject. But as I am a deſponder in my nature, and have tolerably well diſcovered the diſpoſition of our people, who never will move a ſtep towards eaſing themſelves from any one ſingle grievance; it will be thought, that I have already ſaid too much, and to little or no purpoſe, which hath often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22. 1737.

J. SWIFT.

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ADVICE to the Freemen of the city of Dublin, in the choice of a MEMBER to repreſent them in PARLIAMENT*.

THOSE few writers, who, ſince the death of alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they ſhould proceed in electing a new repreſentative for the next ſeſſions, having laid aſide their pens; I have reaſon to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly thoſe who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a ſecond, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what perſon they reſolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two perſons, who ſet up for candidates; one is the preſent Lord Mayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good eſteem, and alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable office || under the crown. The queſtion is, which of theſe two perſons it will be moſt for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, ſo that my inquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and ſituation of both.

IN order to this, I muſt offer my countrymen and fellow-citizens ſome reaſons why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom they beſtow their votes.

To perform this with more clearneſs, it may be proper to give you a ſhort ſtate of our unfortunate country.

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* This piece was publiſhed in the year 1733; and as it may be uſeful upon a like occaſion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphry French.

‡ John Macarall.

|| Regiſter to the barracks.

We conſiſt of two parties, I do not mean Popiſh and Proteſtant, High and Low church, Epiſcopal and Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of thoſe of Engliſh who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whoſe anceſtors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the Engliſh crown) and the gentlemen ſent from t'other ſide to poſſeſs moſt of the chief employments here: this latter party is very much enlarged and ſtrengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil adminiſtration depoſited in their hands: altho' for political ends, and to ſave appearances, ſome employments are ſtill depoſited (yet gradually in a ſmaller number) to perſons born here: this proceeding, fortified with good words and many promiſes, is ſufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might eaſily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for ſeveral years paſt with great prudence made precarious, and during pleaſure; by which means the poſſeſſors are, and muſt inevitably be, for ever dependant: yet thoſe very few of any conſequence, which being dealt with ſo ſparing a hand to perſons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who deſire to mend their condition by the favour of thoſe in power.

Now, my dear fellow-citizens, how is it poſſible you can conceive, that any perſon, who holds an office of ſome hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power ſhall think fit, will, if he ſhould be choſen a member for any city, do the leaſt thing when he ſits in the houſe, that he knows or fears may be diſpleaſing to thoſe who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, theſe are no times to expect ſuch an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing ſtars are much more frequently ſeen than ſuch heroical worthies. And I could ſooner hope to find ten thouſand pounds by digging in my garden, than ſuch a *phœnix* by ſearching among the preſent race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous as well as modern maxim of politics in the Engliſh nation, to take every opportunity of depreſſing Ireland, whereof an hundred

dred inſtances may be produced in points of the higheſt importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: altho' many of the greateſt perſons among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their preſent ſucceſſors.

BUT ſo the fact ſtands at preſent. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the houſe of Commons) very ſeldom agree in any thing but their loyalty to his preſent Majeſty, their reſolutions to make him and his viceroy eaſy in the government, to the utmoſt of their power, under the preſent condition of the kingdom. But the perſons ſent from England, who (to a trifle) are poſſeſſed of the ſole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in poſſeſſion who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopers, and promiſſees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon a univerſal ſubmiſſion to whatever ſhall be demanded; wherein they act ſafely, becauſe none of themſelves except the candidates, feel the leaſt of our preſſures.

I remember a perſon of diſtinction ſome days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our higheſt employments of all kinds, can never be poſſibly loſers of one farthing by the greateſt calamities that can befal this kingdom, except a plague that would ſweep away a million of our hewers of wood, and drawers of water: or an invaſion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this perſon argued, that while there was a penny left in the treaſury, the civil and military liſt muſt be paid; and that the epiſcopal revenues, which are uſually farmed out at ſix times below the real value, could hardly fail. He inſiſted father, that, as money diminiſhed, the price of all neceſſaries for life muſt of conſequence do ſo too, which would be for the advantage of all perſons in employment, as well as of my Lords the biſhops, and to the ruin of every body elſe. Among the company there wanted not men in office, beſides one or two expectants: yet I did not obſerve any of them diſpoſed to return an anſwer: but the conſequences

drawn were theſe: that the great men in power ſent hither from the other ſide were by no means upon the ſame foot with his Majeſty's other ſubjects of Ireland. They had no common ligament to bind them with us; they ſuffered not with our ſufferings, and if it were poſſible for us to have any cauſe of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

SUPPOSE a perſon born in this kingdom, ſhall happen by his ſervices for the Engliſh intereſt to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a year; and that he hath likewiſe an eſtate in land worth four hundred pounds a year more: ſuppoſe him to ſit in parliament: then, ſuppoſe a land tax to be brought in of five ſhillings a pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds a year in land: the tax he muſt pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thouſand pounds. But if he gives his vote againſt this tax, he will loſe four thouſand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment: and thus the balance will be againſt him three thouſand pounds.

I deſire, my fellow-citizens, you will pleaſe to call to mind how many perſons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have ſo much virtue and ſelf-denial as to loſe four hundred pounds a year for life, together with the ſmiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

THE contentions of parties in England are very different from thoſe among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches; and ſo it is indeed among us: but, whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be ſpent there. All employments (except a very few) are beſtowed on the natives: they do not ſend to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much leſs to Ireland, for chancellors, biſhops, judges, or other officers. Their ſalaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

THE

THE houſe of Commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who ſhould be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpoſe, which many wiſe men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of re-election. Our houſe of Commons conſiſts, I think, of about three hundred members; if one hundred of theſe ſhould happen to be made up of perſons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers, eaſy to be perſuaded, ſuch as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get ſomething; if they be merry companions, without ſuſpicion, of a natural baſhfulneſs, not apt or able to look forwards; if good words, ſmiles, and careſſes, have any power over them, the larger part of a ſecond hundred may be very eaſily brought in at a moſt reaſonable rate.

THERE is an Engliſhman * of no long ſtanding among us, but in an employment of great truſt, power, and profit. This excellent perſon did lately publiſh, at his own expence, a pamphlet printed in England by authority, to juſtify the bill for a general exciſe, or inland duty, in order to introduce that bleſſed ſcheme among us. What a tender care muſt ſuch an Engliſh patriot for Ireland have of our intereſt, if he ſhould condeſcend to ſit in our parliament? I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to ſee that mortal, who would with pleaſure blow us up all at a blaſt: but he duly receives his thouſand pounds a year; makes his progreſs like a king; is received in pomp at every town † and village where he travels, and ſhines in the Engliſh news-papers.

I will now apply what I have ſaid to you, my brethren, and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one perſon in office, of which he is not maſter for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of this country.

* Edward Thompſon, Eſq; member of parliament for York, and a commiſſioner of the revenue of Ireland.

† Mr Thompſon was preſented with his freedom of ſeveral corporations in Ireland.

One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honeſt gentleman, as the word honeſt is generally underſtood. But, he loves his employment better than he doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute or give him city ſecurity to pay him the value of his employment, if it ſhould be taken from him, during his life, for voting on all occaſions with the honeſt country party in the houſe? altho' I much queſtion, whether he would do it, even upon that condition.

WHEREFORE, ſince there are but two candidates, I intreat you will fix on the preſent Lord mayor. He hath ſhewn more virtue, more activity, more ſkill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured with great ſucceſs to baniſh frauds, corruptions, and all other abuſes from amongſt you.

A dozen ſuch men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown, nor is likely to get or ſolicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will aſſure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practiſed the rules of virtue with ſo much difficulty, in ſo great and buſy a ſtation, deſerves your thanks, and the beſt return you can make him; and you, my brethren, have no other to give him, than that of repreſenting you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promiſes to another. Your promiſes were ſins of inconſideration, at beſt; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, altho' with good reputation, is already engaged on the other ſide. He hath four hundred pounds a year under the crown, which he is too wiſe to part with, by ſacrificing ſo good an eſtabliſhment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can aſſure you, the DRAPIER is in the intereſts of the preſent Lord-mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare ſo in public company, and offer ſome of theſe very reaſons in defence of his opinion; altho' he hath a regard and eſteem for the other gentleman, but would not anſwer the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

THE

THE Lord-mayor's ſeverity to ſome unfair dealers ſhould not turn the honeſt men among them againſt him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of thoſe very traders whoſe diſhoneſt members he puniſhed. He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the moſt likely to act right as a repreſentative of your city, as he conſtantly did in the government of it.

Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offered to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the court of Aldermen and Common Council of the Hon. city of Dublin, in the choice of a RECORDER *.

THE office of recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman: it is ſaid, that five or ſix perſons are ſoliciting to ſucceed him in the employment. I am a ſtranger to all their perſons, and to moſt of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvaſſed with more decency than it ſometimes happeneth upon the like occaſions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts, how the ſeveral perſons and parties concerned ought to proceed in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

AND firſt, as it is a very natural, ſo I can by no means think it an unreaſonable opinion, that the ſons or near relations of aldermen, and other deſerving citizens, ſhould be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employment in the city's diſpoſal: provided they be equally qualified with other candidates; and, provided that ſuch employments require no more than common abilities and common honeſty. But in the choice of a recorder, the caſe is intirely different. He ought to be a perſon of good abilities in his calling; of an unſpotted character; an able practitioner; one who hath occaſionally merited of this city before: he ought to be of ſome maturity in years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue ſo; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover

* Upon the death of Mr Stoyte, Recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, ſeveral gentlemen declared themſelves candidates to ſucceed him: upon which the Dean wrote this paper; and Eaton Stannard, Eſq; (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profeſſion,) was elected.

ver ſucceſſion; indulgent to tender conſciences; but, at the ſame time, a firm adherer to the eſtabliſhed church. If he be ſuch a one, who hath already ſat in parliament, it ought to be inquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occaſions for the good of his country; and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city; whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious; and laſtly, whether he be a man of courage; not to be drawn from his duty by the frown or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—Theſe and many other particulars are of infinitely more conſequence than that ſingle circumſtance of being deſcended by a direct or collateral line from any alderman, or diſtinguiſhed citizen, dead or alive.

THERE is not a dealer or ſhop-keeper in this city of any ſubſtance, whoſe thriving, leſs or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion in parliament, that may the leaſt affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

IN this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, ſo they ſeem to be moſt concerned in point of intereſt; and their intereſt ought to be moſt regarded, becauſe it altogether dependeth upon the true intereſt of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by ballotting, they lie under no awe or fear of diſobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly conſider, which of the candidates is moſt likely to advance the trade of themſelves and their brother citizens; to defend their liberties both *in* and *out* of parliament, againſt all attempts of encroachment or oppreſſion. And ſo God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may for many years ſupply that important office with ſkill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people ſay, *Amen*.

The

The LAST SPEECH and DYING WORDS of EBENEZER ELLISTON, who was executed the 2d day of May 1722 *.

Publiſhed at his deſire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following ſpeech was written, the town was much peſtered with *ſtreet-robbers*; who, in a barbarous manner, would ſeize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this ſpeech had ſo good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed ſince.]

I AM now going to ſuffer the juſt puniſhment for my crimes, preſcribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the conſtant cuſtom, that thoſe who come to this place ſhould have ſpeeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are ſuch ſpeeches, that, altho' our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man aſhamed to have ſuch nonſenſe and falſe Engliſh charged upon him, even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our ſincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the ſame treatment with my predeceſſors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than thoſe of my rank and profeſſion;

I

* This piece had a moſt excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower claſs of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliſton, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the ſtyle of this paper is ſo natural for a perſon in ſuch circumſtances, that it would almoſt deceive the niceſt judgment. *Orrery.*

I have been conſidering, ever ſince my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occaſion.

AND *firſt*, I cannot ſay from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly ſorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much ſo, for the bad ſucceſs of my villanies in bringing me to this untimely end. For it is plainly evident, that after having ſome time ago obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were ſo rooted in me, and I was grown ſo unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, altho' in compliance with my friends, I reſolve to go to the gallows after the uſual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I ſhall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have obſerved in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can ſay farther from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity, after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their eſcapes, as it ſometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedeſt rogues I ever knew, and ſo continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went to the gallows to ſmite their breaſts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked diſpoſitions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the government in ever pardoning or tranſporting us; unleſs when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are ſure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good; by the ſame rule, *That it is better to have but one fox in a farm than three or four.* But we generally make a ſhift to return after being tranſported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Beſides, I know it by experience, that ſome hope we have of finding mercy, when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of thoſe odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full: theſe wretches put us upon all miſchief to feed their luſts and extravagancies;

vagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men, their advice is always not to ſpare if we are purſued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are ſure to be our betrayers.

Now as I am a dying man, ſomething I have done which may be of good uſe to the public. I have left with an honeſt man (and indeed the only honeſt man I was ever acquainted with) the names of all my wicked brethren, the preſent places of their abode, with a ſhort account of the chief crimes they have committed: in many of which I have been their accomplices, and heard the reſt from their own mouths; I have likewiſe ſet down the names of thoſe we call our ſetters, of the wicked houſes we frequent, and of thoſe who receive and buy our ſtolen goods. I have ſolemnly charged this honeſt man, and have received his promiſe upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing, or houſe-breaking, he will look into his liſt, and if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to ſend the whole paper to the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have alſo ſet down the names of ſeveral gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin ſtreets for three years paſt: I have told the circumſtances of thoſe robberies; and ſhewn plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cauſe of their misfortune. I have therefore deſired my friend, that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the ſtreets, he will get that relation printed and publiſhed with the firſt letters of thoſe gentlemens names, who by their own want of bravery are likely to be the cauſe of all the miſchief of that kind, which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a ſhort deſcription of that kind of life, which I have led for ſome years paſt; and is exactly the ſame with the reſt of our wicked brethren.

Altho' we are generally ſo corrupted from our childhood, as to have no ſenſe of goodneſs; yet ſomething heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never eaſy till we are half drunk among our whores

and

and companions; nor ſleep ſound, unleſs we drink longer than we can ſtand. If we go abroad in the day, a wiſe man would eaſily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have ſuch a ſuſpicious, fearful, and conſtrained countenance; often turning back, and ſlinking thro' narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, tho' I never ſaw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and ſoon ſquander it away on our vices in thoſe houſes that receive us; for the maſter and miſtreſs, and the very tapſter, go ſnacks; and beſides make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, ſnuff boxes, and the like; we have cuſtomers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have ſeen a tankard worth fifteen pounds ſold to a fellow in——ſtreet for twenty ſhillings; and a gold watch for thirty. I have ſet down his name, and that of ſeveral others in the paper already mentioned. We have ſetters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by; eſpecially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conſcience, that if an account were made of a thouſand pounds in ſtolen goods; conſidering the low rates we ſell them at, the bribes we muſt give for concealment, the extortions of ale houſe reckoning, and other neceſſary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this we muſt find cloaths for our whores, beſides treating them from morning to night; who in requital reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For when our money is gone, they are every moment threatning to inform againſt us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it deſcribed by our clergy, the trueſt picture of it muſt be in the back-room of one of our ale-houſes at midnight; where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time, until they are paſt their ſenſes, is ſuch a continued horrible noiſe of curſing, blaſpheming, lewdneſs, ſcurrility, and brutiſh behaviour, ſuch roaring and confuſion,

confuſion, ſuch a clutter of mugs and pots at each other's heads; that Bedlam, in compariſon, is a ſober and orderly place. At laſt they all tumble from their ſtools and benches, and ſleep away the reſt of the night; and generally the landlord or his wife, or ſome other whore who has a ſtronger head than the reſt, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be eaſy till we are drunk; and our drunkenneſs conſtantly expoſes us to be more eaſily betrayed and taken.

THIS is a ſhort picture of the life I have led; which is more miſerable than that of the pooreſt labourer who works for four pence a day; and yet cuſtom is ſo ſtrong, that I am confident, if I could make my eſcape at the foot of the gallows, I ſhould be following the ſame courſe this very evening. So that upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whoſe intereſt it is to root us out like wolves and other miſchievous vermin, againſt which no fair play is required.

IF I have done ſervice to men in what I have ſaid, I ſhall hope I have done ſervice to God; and that will be better than a ſilly ſpeech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly deſpiſe, and have never been uſed to; yet ſuch a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am paſſing along the ſtreets.

GOOD people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worſe behind me. I hope you ſhall ſee me die like a man the death of a dog.

E. E.

THE

THE INTELLIGENCER*.

NUMBER I.

IT may be ſaid, without offence to other cities of much greater conſequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of folly and vice both native and imported; and as to thoſe

* The Intelligencer was a weekly paper undertaken by the Dean and Dr Sherridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever publiſhed. The 1ſt, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, ſome verſes in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th, and 7th, are put together and printed as they were publiſhed by Mr Pope in the 4th volume of their miſcellanies, under the title of *An Eſſay on the fates of clergymen*, vol. 7. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *mad Mullinix and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was alſo claſſed by Mr Pope, in vol. 6th. The 9th, he intitled *An eſſay on modern education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 7th; the verſes at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 7th. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr Sherridan, having written a ſhort introduction, took into the Intelligencer, merely to ſave the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 3. and intitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland*. N° 19. is alſo a tract which has been before publiſhed by itſelf, and was taken into the Intelligencer for the ſame reaſon as the former. The Dean and the Doctor ſoon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were diſappointed of aſſiſtance; the price was but one halfpenny; and ſo few were ſold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up ſuch hints as ſhould be ſent him; of which there were enough, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate with leſs labour to the public. The Intelligencers were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730. See letter 62. vol. 5.

imported, we have the advantage to receive them laſt, and conſequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

BUT, becauſe there are many effects of folly and vice among us, whereof ſome are general, others confined to ſmaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few individuals; there is a ſociety lately eſtabliſhed, who at great expence have erected an office of intelligence, from which they are to receive weekly information of all important events and ſingularities, which this famous metropolis can furniſh. Strict injunctions are given to have the trueſt information; in order to which, certain qualified perſons are employed to attend upon duty in their ſeveral poſts; ſome at the *play-houſe*, others in *churches*, ſome at *balls*, *aſſemblies*, *coffee-houſes*, and *meetings* for *quadrille*; ſome at the ſeveral *courts of juſtice*, both *ſpiritual* and *temporal*; ſome at the *college*, ſome upon my Lord-mayor and Aldermen in their public affairs; laſtly, ſome to converſe with *favourite chamber-maids*, and to frequent thoſe *ale-houſes* and *brandy-ſhops* where the *footmen* of great families meet in a morning; only the * Barracks and *parliament-houſe* are excepted; becauſe we have yet found no † *enfans perdus* bold enough to venture their perſons at either. Out of theſe and ſome other *ſtore-houſes*, we hope to gather materials enough to *inform*, or *divert*, or *correct*, or *vex* the town.

BUT as *facts*, *paſſages*, and *adventures* of all kinds are like to have the greateſt ſhare in our Paper, whereof we cannot always anſwer for the truth; due care ſhall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all juſt offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have cauſe to bluſh or be angry; if otherwiſe, then the guilty perſon is ſafe for the future upon his preſent amendment, and ſafe for the preſent from all but his *own conſcience*.

THERE is another reſolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general diſcontent, and is of ſo ſingular a nature, that I have hardly confidence enough

* Barracks, Buildings for the lodgment of ſoldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, Forlorn hope.. See preface to the Biſhop of Sarum's introduction, vol. 7.

nough to mention it, altho' it be abſolutely neceſſary by way of apology for ſo bold and unpopular an attempt. But ſo it is, that we have taken a deſperate counſel to produce into the world every diſtinguiſhed action either of *juſtice*, *prudence*, *generoſity*, *charity*, *friendſhip*, or *public ſpirit*, which comes well atteſted to us. And altho' we ſhall neither here be ſo daring as to aſſign names, yet we ſhall hardly forbear to give ſome hints, that perhaps, to the great diſpleaſure of ſuch deſerving perſons, may endanger a diſcovery. For we think that even *virtue itſelf* ſhould ſubmit to ſuch a mortification, as by its viſibility and example will render it more uſeful to the world. But however, the readers of theſe papers need not be in pain of being overcharged with ſo dull and ungrateful a ſubject. And yet who knows, but ſuch an occaſion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have ſettled a correſpondence round the kingdom.

BUT after all our boaſts of materials ſent us by our ſeveral emiſſaries, we may probably ſoon fall ſhort, if the town will not be pleaſed to lend us further aſſiſtance towards entertaining itſelf. The *world* beſt knows its own *faults* and *virtues*, and whatever is ſent ſhall be faithfully returned back, only a little embelliſhed according to the cuſtom of AUTHORS. We do therefore demand and expect continual advertiſements in great numbers to be ſent to the PRINTER of this Paper, who hath employed a judicious ſecretary to collect ſuch as may be moſt uſeful for the public.

AND altho' we do not intend to expoſe our own perſons by mentioning names, yet we are ſo far from requiring the ſame caution in our correſpondents, that on the contrary we expreſsly charge and command them, in all the facts they ſend us to ſet down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular deſcription of the *perſons*, *dreſſes*, *diſpoſitions*, of the ſeveral *lords*, *ladies*, *'ſquires*, *madams*, *lawyers*, *gameſters*, *toupees*, *ſots*, *wits*, *rakes*, and *informers*, whom they ſhall have occaſion to mention; otherwiſe it will not be poſſible for us to adjuſt our ſtyle to the different qualities, and capacities of the perſons concerned, and treat them with the reſpect or familiarity, that may be due to their ſtations and characters, which we are determined to

obſerve with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, that none may have cauſe to complain.

NUMBER III.

Ipſe per omnes
Ibit perſonas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE players having now almoſt done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the ſeaſon; it may be no unpleaſant ſpeculation, to reflect a little upon this dramatic piece, ſo ſingular in the ſubject and manner, ſo much an original, and which hath frequently given ſo very agreeable an entertainment*.

ALTHO' an evil taſte be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which whoever can rightly touch will never fail of pleaſing a very great majority; ſo great, that the diſlikers out of dulneſs or affectation will be ſilent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean, is what we call *humour*; which in its perfection is allowed to be much preferable to wit; if it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our Engliſh tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itſelf is peculiar to the Engliſh nation, becauſe the contrary may be found in many Spaniſh, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a taſte for true humour will find an hundred inſtances of it in thoſe volumes printed in France under the name of Le Theatre Italien; to ſay nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now I take the comedy or farce, (or whatever name the critics will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera to excel in this article of *humour*; and upon that merit to have met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, both here and in England.

As to poetry, eloquence, and muſic, which are ſaid to have moſt power over the minds of men; it is certain that very

* See letters to and from Dr Swift, vol. 2.

very few have a taſte or judgment of the excellencies of the two former; and if a man ſucceed in either it is upon the authority of thoſe few judges, that lend their taſte to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in muſic; and that among thoſe who crowd the opera's, nine in ten go thither merely out of curioſity, faſhion, or affectation.

BUT a taſte for humour is in ſome manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their underſtanding.

AND, as this taſte of humour is purely natural, ſo is humour itſelf; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we obſerve it ſometimes among common ſervants, and the meaneſt of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they poſſeſs.

I know very well, that this happy talent is contemptibly treated by critics under the name of *low humour*, or *low comedy*; but I know likewiſe that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the moſt wit of any nations in Europe, do moſt excel in it, and do moſt eſteem it.

BY what diſpoſition of the mind, what influence of the ſtars, or what ſituation of the climate, this endowment is beſtowed upon mankind, may be a queſtion fit for philoſophers to diſcuſs. It is certainly the beſt ingredient towards that kind of ſatire, which is moſt uſeful and gives the leaſt offence; which, inſtead of laſhing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character, that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

AND, altho' ſome things are too ſerious, ſolemn, or ſacred to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuſes of them are certainly not; ſince it is allowed that corruptions in religion, politics, and law, may be proper topics for this kind of ſatire.

THERE are two ends, that men propoſe in writing ſatire: one of themſelves noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private ſatisfaction and pleaſure of the writer; but without any view towards perſonal malice: the other is a public ſpirit, prompting men of genius and virtue to mend the world as far as they are

able. And as both theſe ends are innocent, ſo the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expoſe vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a court, a miniſtry, or a ſenate, are they not amply paid by penſions, titles, and power, while I expect and deſire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? yet if thoſe, who take offence, think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the ſcene with them, whenever they pleaſe.

BUT, if my deſign be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at leaſt, I am ſure it is the intereſt of thoſe very courts and miniſters, whoſe follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wiſdom to get the laughers on our ſide; it is much more eaſy, as well as wiſe, to get thoſe on our ſide, who can make millions laugh when they pleaſe.

MY reaſon for mentioning courts, and miniſters, (whom I never think on but with the moſt profound veneration) is, becauſe an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be ſome reflection upon courtiers and ſtateſmen, whereof I am by no means a judge.

IT is true indeed, that Mr GAY, the author of this piece, hath been ſomewhat ſingular in the courſe of his fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the court, with a large ſtock of real merit, a modeſt and agreeable converſation, a hundred promiſes, and five hundred friends, he hath failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reaſon. He lay under the ſuſpicion of having written a libel, or lampoon againſt a great * miniſter. It is true, that great miniſter was demonſtratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr GAY was not the author; but having lain under the ſuſpicion, it ſeemed very juſt that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment; becauſe in this moſt reformed age, the virtues of a prime miniſter are no more to be ſuſpected, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife.

IT

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

IT muſt be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the firſt of Mr GAY's works, wherein he hath been faulty with regard to courtiers and ſtateſmen. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, and dedicated to the Duke of CUMBERLAND, for which he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon the courtiers. And altho' it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily by not conſidering, that the malignity of ſome people might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent perſons and affairs.

BUT I have now done with Mr Gay as a politician; and ſhall conſider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath by a turn of humour, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light; and thereby done eminent ſervice both to religion and morality. This appears from the unparalleled ſucceſs he hath met with. All ranks, parties, and denominations of men either crowding to ſee his Opera, or reading it with delight in their cloſets; even miniſters of ſtate, whom he is thought to have moſt offended, (next to thoſe whom the actors repreſent) appearing frequently at the theatre from a conſciouſneſs of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjuſt a parallel malice, envy, and diſaffection to the government have made.

I am aſſured that ſeveral worthy clergymen in this city went privately to ſee the Beggar's Opera repreſented; and that the ſneering coxcombs in the pit amuſed themſelves with making diſcoveries, and ſpreading the names of thoſe gentlemen round the audience.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate a clergyman, who would appear openly in his habit at a theatre with ſuch a vicious crew as might probably ſtand round him, at ſuch comedies and profane tragedies as are often repreſented. Beſides, I know very well, that perſons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cauſe of offence. But when the Lords Chancellors, who are keepers of the King's conſcience; when the judges of the land, whoſe title is *Reverend*; when Ladies, who are bound by the rules of their ſex to the ſtricteſt decency, appear in the theatre without cenſure; I cannot underſtand,

ſtand, why a young clergyman, who comes concealed out of curioſity to ſee an innocent and moral play, ſhould be ſo highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who ſaid, *he hoped none of his clergy were there.* I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections againſt that reverend body planted in this city, and I wiſh there never may. But I ſhould be very ſorry that any of them ſhould be ſo weak, as to imitate a court-chaplain in ENGLAND, who preached againſt the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do more good, than a thouſand ſermons of ſo ſtupid, ſo injudicious, and ſo proſtitute a divine *.

IN this happy performance of Mr GAY's all the characters are juſt, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It diſcovers the whole ſyſtem of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, eſtabliſhed among us, by which neither our lives nor our properties are ſecure, either in the high-ways, or in public aſſemblies, or even in our own houſes. It ſhews the miſerable lives, and the conſtant fate of thoſe abandoned wretches: for how little they ſell their lives and ſouls; betrayed by their whores, their comrades, and the receivers and purchaſers of thoſe theſts and robberies. This comedy contains likewiſe a ſatire, which, without inquiring whether it affects the preſent age, may poſſibly be uſeful in times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occaſion of comparing thoſe common robbers of the public, and their ſeveral ſtratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the ſeveral arts of politicians in times of corruption.

THIS comedy likewiſe expoſeth, with great juſtice, that unnatural taſte for Italian muſic among us, which is wholly unſuitable to our northern climate and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with Italian effeminacy, and Italian nonſenſe An old gentleman ſaid to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were proſecuted for it, he was ſure it would be the fore-runner of

* Dr Thomas Heron, chaplain to the ſociety at Lincoln's inn, afterwards Biſhop of Bangor, after that Archbiſhop of York, and now Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

of Italian opera's and ſingers; and then we ſhould want nothing but ſtabbing, or poiſoning, to make us perfect Italians.

UPON the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dulneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. GAY.

NUMBER XIX.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[N. B. In the following diſcourſe the author perſonates a country gentleman in the North of Ireland. And this letter is ſuppoſed as directed to the Drapier.]

HAVING, on the 12th of October laſt, received a letter, ſigned ANDREW DEALER, and PATRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following paper, juſt come to my hands, will be a ſufficient anſwer to it.

SIR.

I AM a country gentleman, and a member of Parliament, with an eſtate of about 1400*l.* a year; which, as a northern landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were eſteemed to be not above half value; yet by the intolerable ſcarcity of ſilver, I lie under the greateſt difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing neceſſary for my family from tradeſmen, who are not able to be long out of their money. But the ſufferings of me, and thoſe of my rank, are trifles in compariſon of what the meaner ſort undergo; ſuch as the buyers and ſellers at fairs and markets; the ſhopkeepers in every town; the farmers in general; all thoſe who travel with fiſh, poultry, pedlary-ware, and other conveniences to ſell: but more eſpecially handicrafts-men, who work for

us

us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both theſe kinds of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a *double piſtole*, or a *moidore*, (for we hardly have any gold of lower value left us) to divide it among themſelves as they can: and this is generally done at an ale-houſe, or brandy-ſhop; where, beſides the coſt of getting drunk, (which is uſually the caſe) they muſt pay ten pence or a ſhilling for changing their piece into ſilver to ſome huckſtering fellow, who follows that trade. But, what is infinitely worſe, thoſe poor men for want of due payment are forced to take up their oat-meal and other neceſſaries of life at moſt double value; and conſequently are not able to diſcharge half their ſcore, eſpecially under the ſcarceneſs of corn for two years paſt, and the melancholy diſappointment of the preſent crop.

THE cauſes of this, and a thouſand other evils, are clear and manifeſt to you and all thinking men, altho' hidden from the vulgar: theſe indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badneſs of ſeaſons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reaſonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt born us by our neighbours and brethren without the leaſt grounds of provocation, who rejoice at our ſufferings, altho' ſometimes to their own diſadvantage. They conſider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually ſent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and ſome other lovers of their country have ſo often obſerved with ſuch good inclinations, and ſo little effect.

IT is true indeed, that under our circumſtances in general this complaint for the want of ſilver may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a cut finger, when he is ſtruck with the plague: and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows may be allowed to feel the ſmart of waſps, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is ſo urging, and vexatious in every kind of ſmall traffic, and ſo hourly preſſing upon all perſons in the country whatſoever, that a hundred inconveniences

of

of perhaps greater moment in themſelves have been tamely ſubmitted to with far leſs diſquietude and murmurs. And the caſe ſeems yet the harder, if it be true, what many ſkilful men aſſert, that nothing is more eaſy than a remedy; and, that the want of ſilver, in proportion to the little gold remaining among us, is altogether as unneceſſary, as it is inconvenient. A perſon of diſtinction aſſured me very lately, that, in diſcourſing with the * Lord Lieutenant before his laſt return to England, his Excellency ſaid; "He had preſſed the matter often, in pro-"per time and place, and to proper perſons; and could "not ſee any difficulty of the leaſt moment, that could "prevent us from being made eaſy upon this article."

WHOEVER carries to England twenty ſeven Engliſh ſhillings, and brings back one *moidore* of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Iriſh: in a guinea, the advantage is three pence; and two pence in a *piſtole*. The BANKERS, who are generally maſters of all our gold and ſilver, with this advantage, have ſent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thouſand moidores in ſilver would thus amount in clear profit to 37 *l.* 10 *s.* The ſhopkeepers, and other traders, who go to London to buy goods, followed the ſame practice; by which we have been driven into this inſupportable diſtreſs.

To a common thinker it ſhould ſeem, that nothing would be more eaſy, than for the government to redreſs this evil, at any time they ſhall pleaſe. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21 *s.* and 6 *d.* to only 21 *s.* the conſequences to this kingdom were obvious, and manifeſt to us all: and a ſober man may be allowed at leaſt to wonder, altho' he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been ſince. It would ſurely require no very profound ſkill in Algebra to reduce the difference of nine pence in thirty ſhillings, or three pence in a guinea to leſs than a farthing; and ſo ſmall a fraction could be no temptation either to bankers to hazard their ſilver at ſea, or tradeſmen to load themſelves with it in their journies to England. In my humble

* The Lord Carteret.

humble opinion it would be no unſeaſonable condecenſion, if the government would graciouſly pleaſe to ſignify to the poor loyal Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, either that this miſerable want of ſilver is not poſſible to be remedied in any degree by the niceſt ſkill in Arithmetic; or elſe, that it doth not ſtand with the good pleaſure of England, to ſuffer any ſilver at all among us. In the former caſe, it would be madneſs to expect impoſſibilities; and in the other, we muſt ſubmit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the CONQUEROR.

THE queſtion hath been often put in printed papers, by the DRAPIER and others, or perhaps by the ſame WRITER under different ſtyles, why this kingdom ſhould not be permitted to have a mint of its own for the coinage of gold, ſilver, and copper; which is a power exerciſed by many biſhops, and every petty prince in Germany? but this queſtion hath never been anſwered; nor the leaſt application, that I have heard of, made to the crown from hence for the grant of a public mint; altho' it ſtands upon record, that ſeveral cities and corporations here had the liberty of coining ſilver. I can ſee no reaſons, why we alone of all nations are thus reſtrained, but ſuch as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the firſt imperial kingdom ſince Nimrod, which ever wanted power to coin their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any ſubject to petition either the Prince or the Parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a ſubject of Ireland, I profeſs I cannot determine; nor will undertake, that the printer ſhall not be proſecuted in a court of juſtice for publiſhing my wiſhes, that a poor ſhopkeeper might be able to change a guinea or a moidore, when a cuſtomer comes for a crown's worth of goods. I have known leſs crimes puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, under the title of diſaffection. And I cannot but approve the wiſdom of the antients, who, after Aſtrea had fled from the earth, at leaſt took care to provide *three upright judges for hell.* Mens ears among us are indeed grown ſo nice, that whoever happens to think out of faſhion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not ſo much as complain

plain of the tooth-ach, leſt our weak and buſy dabblers in politics ſhould be ready to ſwear againſt him for diſaffection.

THERE was a method practiſed by Sir Ambroſe Crawley, the great dealer in iron-works, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the ſeveral towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave notes inſtead of money (from two pence to twenty ſhillings) which paſſed current in all ſhops and mercats, as well as in houſes, where meat or drink was ſold. I ſee no reaſon, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with ſome degree of ſucceſs; or at leaſt may not ſerve as a poor expedient in this our bleſſed age of paper; which as it diſchargeth all our greateſt payments, may be equally uſeful in the ſmaller, and may juſt keep us alive, until an Engliſh act of parliament ſhall forbid it.

I have been told, that among ſome of our pooreſt American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of ſmall traffic. How happy ſhould we be in compariſon of our preſent condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the ſheers, for want of a mint, upon our foreign gold, by clipping it into half crowns and ſhillings, and even lower denominations; for beggars muſt be content to live upon ſcraps; and it would be our felicity, that theſe ſcraps could never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

IF neither of theſe projects will avail, I ſee nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the wild Indians with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this diſadvantage on our ſide, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is ſent away, without ſo much as a recompence in bugles or glaſs in return.

IT muſt needs be a very comfortable circumſtance in the preſent juncture, that ſome thouſand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence and ſettle themſelves in America: the poorer ſort for want of work; the farmers, whoſe beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be born, and thoſe who

have any ready money, or can purchaſe any by the ſale of their goods or leaſes, becauſe they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any money to buy the very neceſſaries of life, are haſtening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, corn among us carries a very high price; but it is for the ſame reaſon, that rats and cats and dead horſes have been often bought for gold in a town beſieged.

THERE is a perſon of quality in my neighbourhood, who twenty years ago, when he was juſt come to age, being unexperienced and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and conſequently by the riſe of land ſince that time looked upon his eſtate to be ſet at half value: but numbers of theſe tenants or their deſcendants are now offering to ſell their leaſes by cant*, even thoſe which were for lives, ſome of them renewable for ever, and ſome fee-farms, which the landlord himſelf hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded ſeven years ago. And ſome leaſes let at the ſame time for lives have been given up to him without any conſideration at all.

THIS is the moſt favourable face of all things at preſent among us; I ſay, among us of the North, who are eſteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how ſoon this miſery and deſolation may ſpread, is eaſy to foreſee.

THE vaſt ſums of money daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America have deprived us of our gold in theſe parts, almoſt as much as of our ſilver. And the good wives who come to our houſes offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependance lies, for ſo little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half ſupport their families.

IT is remarkable, that this enthuſiaſm ſpread among our Northern people, of ſheltering themſelves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their preſent inſupportable condition at home. I have made all poſſible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from thoſe plantations,

* Cant or auction.

tations, ſufficient to make them undertake ſo tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all ſeaſons of the year, and ſo ill accommodated in their ſhips, that many of them have died miſerably in their paſſage; but could never get one ſatisfactory anſwer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or couſin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a penny an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in thoſe colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the wild Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of ſome barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other ſervice than to blunt their enemies ſwords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who tranſport themſelves, are ſettled in thoſe interjacent tracts, as a ſcreen againſt the inſults of the ſavages; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reaſonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years purchaſe by their labour. Now, beſides the fox's reaſon†, which inclines all thoſe who have already ventured thither to repreſent every thing in a falſe light, as well for juſtifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their miſery, the governing people in thoſe plantations have alſo wiſely provided, that no letters ſhall be ſuffered to paſs from thence hither without being firſt viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally diſcovered ſome months ago by an honeſt man, who having tranſported himſelf and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope; had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of ſuch a voyage, and to diſcourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, altho' it be a truth well known, hath produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a fever to turn often, altho' without any hope of eaſe; or when he is purſued,

† The fox who, having loſt his tail, would have perſuaded the reſt to cut off theirs.

to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy juſt at his back; ſo men in the extremeſt degree of miſery and want will naturally fly to the firſt appearance of relief, let it be ever ſo vain or viſionary.

You may obſerve, that I have very ſuperficially touched the ſubject I began with, and with the utmoſt caution; for I know how criminal the leaſt complaint hath been thought, however ſeaſonable, or juſt or honeſtly intended, which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at leaſt in my time, be interpreted by innuendos as a falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and diſaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the gout; which, beſides the loſs and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, ſo ſeverely afflicted with that diſtemper.

I wiſh you good ſucceſs, but I can promiſe you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the leaſt view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but villains and betrayers of their country can be your enemies. Upon which I have little to ſay, having not the honor to be acquainted with many of that ſort; and therefore, as you may eaſily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient

Humble Servant,

A. NORTH.

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.

The

The DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and ſet out in his own proper colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS againſt Mr WOOD'S HALF-PENCE *.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I MAKE not the leaſt doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and conſidered what I ſhall offer upon the preſent occaſion in my own defence, and againſt your drapier, when ye ſhall make an exact *aſſay* of the arguments on both ſides between him and me; and, laſtly, when ye ſhall obſerve, as I ſhall point it out, the abuſive and reproachful language with which he has treated me; I ſay, as I ſaid before, I make not the leaſt doubt, but ye will all to a man reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

IN his firſt letter to the *tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general of the kingdom of Ireland* [above, p. 13.], he begins with the wheedling preamble of *brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-ſubjects.* A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you beſt; he that is getting you no money at all, or I who am this preſent providing more money for you than you ſhall know what to do with. O ſad! O ſad! I am really concerned for the poor drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and ſays,

" IT is a great fault among you, that when a perſon " writes with no other intention than to do you good,

" you

* This piece, and the Intelligencer, No 15. annexed, are taken from the 9th volume of Swift's Miſcellanies, printed at London in 1751. Both theſe pieces would have been inſerted in their proper places; but were not adverted to in time.

" you will not be at the pains to read his advices." [p. 13.]

ARTFUL enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like ſo many gudgeons, to ſwallow his falſe arguments: and you ſee he has accompliſhed his end at laſt; for had ye not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my half-pence theſe five or ſix months paſt.

" Now you muſt know, that the half-pence and far-" things in England paſs for very little more than they " are worth; and if you ſhould beat them to pieces, and " ſell them to the braſier, you would not loſe much a-" bove a penny in a ſhilling. But Mr Wood made his " half-pence of ſuch baſe metal, and ſo much ſmaller than " the Engliſh ones, that the braſier would hardly give " you above a penny of good money for a ſhilling of his." [p. 14.]

AY, would he give three pence. But one may ſee his malice here with half an eye He does not tell of the vaſt expence and trouble I am at in coining; the number of clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out of pocket in getting my patent; the great expence I ſhall be at in ſhipping them to Ireland; which muſt, in the nature of things, be a vaſt drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble; and therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed I can either put as much or as good copper in the half-pence for Ireland, as thoſe for England. But, good Lord! is not a half-penny a half-penny, when once it is called ſo; and if it paſſes for a half-penny, can you expect any more? Good people, never mind one word he ſays, tho' he ſells you a dozen hats at five ſhillings a piece, which is three pound, is but five ſhillings in my money; this is perfect tranſubſtantiation to juggle you out of your ſenſes——three pound is but five ſhillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

" THIS ſame Mr Wood was able to attend conſtantly " for his own intereſt;" [and why ſhould not I?]; " he " is an Engliſhman, and had great friends," [God be thanked for that]; " and it ſeems knew very well where " to give money to thoſe that would ſpeak to others " that could ſpeak to the King, and would tell a fair " ſtory." [I grant that, and what would he infer?] Then he proceeds: " If his Majeſty the King ſaw that

" it

"it would utterly ruin the kingdom of Ireland, he would "ſhew his diſpleaſure to ſome body or other. But a "word to the wiſe is enough." [We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well ſpoken what he thought, like an honeſt man. He proceeds]: "Moſt of you "muſt have heard with what anger our honourable houſe "of Commons received an account of this Wood's pa-"tent. There were ſeveral fine ſpeeches made upon "it, and plain proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat, "from the bottom to the top; and ſeveral ſmart votes "were printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſurance "to anſwer likewiſe in print, and in ſo confident a way, "as if he were a better man than our whole parliament "put together." [p. 15.]

THE parliament was angry—made ſpeeches—found me to be a wicked cheat—and I anſwered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament.——Well, I find this drapier will ſay any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the drapier anſwer me only theſe three queſtions: where did this parliament ſit? and where are the ſpeeches? and where is my anſwer?

"THE common ſoldier, when he goes to the market "or alehouſe, will offer this money," [meaning my half-pence]: "and if it be refuſed, perhaps he will ſwagger "and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or ale-"wife" [threaten indeed! he will do it in earneſt], "or "take the goods by force, and throw them the bad half-"pence." [Why ſhould he not? is it any robbery if he pays them!] "In this and the like caſes, the ſhopkeep-"er, or victualler, or any other tradeſman, has no more "to do, than to demand ten times the price of his "goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for ex-"ample, *twenty pence for a quart of ale.*" [p. 16.] The devil is in his conſcience, *twenty pence for a quart of ale!* I believe ſuch another propoſal was never ſince Adam. To conſider all other things in proportion, what miſchief would this occaſion? That is, fifteen ſhillings a bottle for claret, at eighteen pence a bottle; for a flaſk of burgundy five and forty ſhillings; fifty ſhillings a-day for a coach; ten ſhillings a dinner for a twelve-penny ordinary; thirty ſhillings a-day for a chair; ten pence a freſh

freſh egg; five pence a half-penny roll; two pence half-penny for a pint of ſmall beer. In ſhort, by his advice, victuallers, vintners, and tradeſ-folk would ſoon get all the money of the kingdom into their own hands, ſhould they all follow the *pot-of-ale example*. And now to conſider the poor, they would be undone by the drapier's advice; the butcher would have eighteen pence for a ſheep's head; the baker ten ſhillings for a twelve-penny loaf; and thus would it be in proportion as to all their other exigences. No, no, rather take my advice; *two pence a-quart and my bleſſing*.

IN p. 16. he denies that my half-pence are lawful money of England or Ireland. I ſuppoſe then he would have them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for they muſt be lawful ſome-where. For does he think, under the ſcarcity of money we find at preſent, that we can afford to let fourſcore and ten thouſand pound lie dead? I need no other argument to ſhew what a friend he is to the public.

"THEY ſay 'Squire Conolly hath ſixteen thouſand "pounds a year; now, if he ſends for his rent to town, "as it is likely he doth, he muſt have two hundred and "fifty horſes to bring up his half-year's rent." [p. 17.]

SUPPOSE he muſt, where is the great hardſhip? If a man of ſixteen thouſand a-year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horſes to draw his money, he deſerves to want it. I'll engage his under-tenants will lay it down at his door, and it ſhall not coſt him a farthing for the carriage.

"THESE half-pence, if they once paſs, will ſoon be "counterfeited, becauſe it may be cheaply done, the "ſtuff is ſo baſe. The Dutch likewiſe will probably do "the ſame thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for "our goods." [p. 17.]

THE ſtuff is good ſtuff, let him ſay what he will; and the half-pence are good half-pence, and I will ſtand by it: if I made them of ſilver, it would be the ſame thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeit, ſure they counterfeit gold and ſilver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin. I am certain they have not coined one half-penny as yet; and if

they

they ſhould, I ſhall take care to ſtock you ſo well, that you ſhall have no occaſion for theirs; ſo that they may carry them home again if they pleaſe.

"IT would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould be put "into one ſcale, and this ſorry fellow Wood into the o- "ther; that Mr Wood and his half-pence ſhould weigh "down this whole kingdom, by which England gets "above a million of good money every year clear into "their pockets; and that is more than the Engliſh do by "all the world beſides." [p. 18.]

Parturiant montes—But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not underſtand.

"A famous law-book, called *the mirror of juſtice*, diſ- "courſing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our anti- "ent kings, declares the law to be as follows: it was "ordained, that no King of this realm ſhould change, "impair, or amend, or make any money than of gold "or ſilver, without the aſſent of all the counties; that "is, as my Lord Coke [1. Inſt. 1576.] ſays, without the "aſſent of parliament." [p. 19.]

THEN he concludes, according to cuſtom, with his fine flattering ſpeeches.

"I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the trouble, "ſet before you in ſhort what the law obliges you to do, "and what it does not oblige you to." [This drapier is an excellent lawyer, I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor.]

"FIRST, you are obliged to take all money in pay- "ments which is coined by the King, and is of the En- "gliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it be of gold or ſil- "ver.

"SECONDLY, you are not obliged to take any money "which is not of gold or ſilver.———

"THIRDLY, much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe "vile half-pence of that ſame Wood.———

"THEREFORE, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: re- "fuſe this filthy traſh. It is no treaſon to rebel againſt "Mr Wood. His Majeſty, in his patent, obliges no "body to take theſe half-pence." [p. 21.]

So then, at this rate, they are coined for no body, by ſome body; and ſome body is to get nothing by no body. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coin-

age.

age. Ye ſee, gentlemen, the force of that argument which the drapier offers; but I find logic is not his talent. Thus have I, with great patience, gone through this injurious piece of ſatire upon myſelf contained in this firſt letter. But knowing that the beſt undertakers have always met with enemies and detractors, I comfort myſelf that I have far defeated this malicious author; that you are all convinced, I am now for all your goods; and tho' a perfect ſtranger to the country of Ireland, yet a little time will ſhew what induſtry and pains it has coſt me, to make you a flouriſhing and happy people. It is my inclination to preſerve a good underſtanding between me and you, however wicked people may endeavour to interpoſe. Before I conclude, I have one complaint more: I am told, that pitiful, malicious, inſidious, undermining, ſcribbling drapier ſet on a parcel of tattered, filthy, Iriſh, butter-milk, potatoe ſcoundrels, to carry my effigies about in *wood*, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's Green [above, p. 144.]; for which I hope, when the parliament ſits, to have ample ſatisfaction. I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were concerned in that abominable proceſſion.

I am your beſt friend,
W. W.

THE INTELLIGENCER, No 15*.

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Ariſe, cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord: lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every ſtreet.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the iſland Delos, was inſcribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgement

* See above, p. 349. in the notes.

ment for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public-ſpirited Athenians. Had the ſame poet, inſpired by a noble and heroic ardour, by another ode awakened and rouſed their whole ſtate againſt an invading enemy, or opened their eyes againſt any ſecret and wicked contrivers of their deſtruction, they would have erected him a ſtatue at leaſt. But, alas! that ſpirit is fled from the world, and long ſince neglected. Virtue is become her own pay-maſter. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been ſo little notice taken of a ſmall, but moſt excellent pamphlet, written by the DRAPIER. It is intitled, A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND [above, p. 157.] There never was any treatiſe yet publiſhed, with a zeal more generous for the univerſal good of a nation, or a deſign more ſeaſonable, conſidering our preſent lamentable condition: yet we liſten not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it ſhould have been inſcribed in capital letters (as glorious as thoſe of the poet), in the moſt public part of every corporation town, thro' this whole kingdom, that people might behold the ſeveral unprovoked cauſes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed farther, and ſay, that every head of every family ought to inſtruct his children ſo far in this moſt *incomparable pamphlet*, that they ſhould not only underſtand, but be able to repeat by heart every ſingle paragraph thro' the whole. This was the method laid down by the wiſeſt lawgiver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7. 8. 9. "And thou ſhalt teach them diligently unto thy chil-"dren, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in "thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, and "when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up. And "thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and "they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And "thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy houſe, and "on thy gates."

AND where would be the great trouble, ſince we have little elſe to do, if every man would read a lecture of the *ſhort view* every day in his family, after reading prayers?

Nor

Nor do I think the expence would be extravagant, if he ſhould have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames, in every chamber of his houſe; that it might be as evident as the *hand-writing on the wall.*

AND ſince I have ventured thus far to praiſe and recommend this moſt inimitable piece, let me ſpeak a few words in favour of its AUTHOR.

I would propoſe to my countrymen before all their money goes off, (it is going as faſt as poſſible), to convert it into a few ſtatues to the DRAPIER, in thoſe memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have ſhone with the greateſt luſtre, in defence of our *liberty*, and the PROTESTANT RELIGION over all Europe; at DERRY, at ENNISKILLEN, at BOYNE, at AUGHRIM. Nor would it be amiſs to ſet up a few more about our METROPOLIS, with that glorious inſcription, LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM.

IF our money were metamorphoſed upon ſuch a good occaſion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypſelus *, to get it into his own coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys ſhould act like the Roman prefects; and run away with our very ſtatues.

COURTEOUS reader, mark well what follows.

" I am aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been pra-
" ctiſed," &c. [Here *the ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland*, above, p. 157. was inſerted verbatim.]

* Cypſelus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that ſtate to himſelf in ten years time. *Ariſt. Polit.*

The End of the Third Volume.